

# The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Volume III.  
Number 5.

PHILADELPHIA, MAY, 1912.

20 cents a copy  
\$2.00 a year



## Execution of Louis XVI.

Louis XVI, condemned to death by a small majority of the National Convention, was executed on January 21, 1793, in the great square known successively as the Place Louis XV, Place de la Revolution, and (after 1795) Place de la Concorde. He was buried in the courtyard of the sacristy of the Madeleine. (See page 98.)

From a contemporary German engraving, crude, but faithful in detail. This picture will form part of a series of the French Revolution to be issued under the auspices of the New England History Teachers' Association.

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## History as a Teacher and the Teacher of History<sup>\*</sup>

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE L. BURR, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

When to teachers of history I speak of history as a teacher, I of course do not mean by history the past as a whole. That teaches us through all the sciences and all the arts. Nor do I mean to include under history all the studies which deal with the past of man. Anthropology and sociology, economics and politics, have their own lessons and their own ways of teaching them. I am now concerned only with that history which it is admittedly ours to teach—with that old-fashioned study which from Herodotus and Thucydides to Gibbon and Macauley, to Bury and Firth, or, if you please, to Foster and Fay, has busied itself with the story of human doings. Nay, I must be yet more modest. What interests me now, what interests us all as teachers of history, is not what history may teach the historian or the full-grown student. What I want to know, what I think you want to know, is rather its place, or its claim to a place, in the training of those earlier years which must be spent in the schools—years so brief, so precious, already so crowded.

It is no idle question. A century ago history was hardly dreamed of as a discipline. Not two generations have passed since it first gained a foothold in our American colleges. I can myself remember its beginnings in our lower schools. Has it made good? There are still those who doubt. Some would discard it as unteachable. Some would under its name teach something else. "When history ceases to recount and begins to count," says in a recent book that arch-pessimist, Max Nordau, "then, and not till then, can it cease to be an art, a mongrel poetry, and rise to the rank of a science." "But then," he frankly adds, "it is no longer history in the customary sense; it becomes anthropology, ethnography, or sociology reinforced by biology, psychology, and statistics." If not a science, can history have a use in education? What is it good for, and why?

What has it ever done for you or me? When did you first make its acquaintance? Let me try to remind you. It was not when you began to study it in school. It was not when, years before, you were first enticed to read the story of some hero, some princess. It was not even when for the first time you heard the tale of Joseph or of Moses. Far, far back of that. Do you remember the very first story you ever heard in your life? Your mother told it to you; something about her own girlhood or of when your father was a little boy. But stories are not history. Aren't they, then? Why, the very word is only "history" cut short; stories are history child-size. When the world was in its childhood all history was story; and we are not so very, very grown-up yet. The idea that history, to be history, must first of all be true to fact is only a queer modern grown-up notion. It hangs together with that other fallacy that history is knowledge. To be knowledge is not

the first criterion of history. It was no sentimentalist, no mere quibbling pedagogue, but the great constitutional historian of England, who, writing a few years ago of the study of history—and of history for grown-ups—protested that it is not primarily knowledge. What is it, then? It is travel, he said, acquaintance, experience. But it is more than these. Your mother, when she told you of her own past or your father's, meant to take you for a little journey, to find you a new friend in her girl self, to share with you what life had taught to her; but that was not all. As you listened to her then and lived with her in that new land of memory,—nay, as, long before, you lay and watched her movements while they wove themselves to loving deeds about you,—there began for you another journey, far more fateful, a journey out of selfhood into sympathy, a first excursion into the realm of character. But earlier yet—before even your mother's voice had found words which you could understand, while as yet her sweet presence was to you only an atmosphere—why was it that even then your eyes gleamed, that you crowed with all your baby might, that your baby fingers clutched in ecstasy, when they brought within your sight, within your grasp, a something that seemed to be alive like you—a doll, a squirming kitten, another wriggling, clinging baby? Doubtless they brought it only to "amuse" you. Perhaps your mother and the others who through all those childish years anticipated or supplied your growing need of "stories" called it only that. But why did these "amuse" you? What was the appetite they stirred and stilled? They who fed your body found in your body's growth a reason and a measure for the nourishment you craved. And is there no explanation for a hunger of the mind?

A hundred years ago a great student of literature made his fortune as a critic by the discovery that the books which amuse us have for us a richer message than those which instruct. "The true antithesis to knowledge," said De Quincey, "is not *pleasure*, but *power*." \* "There is the literature of *knowledge*" and there is "the literature of *power*. The function of the first is—to *teach*; the function of the second is—to *move*." And he proclaimed the pre-eminence, over all that merely *teaches*, "of the meanest that *moves*, or that teaches, if at all, indirectly by *moving*." †

What moves us to feel is feeling. What is it that moves us to resolve and to act? Is it not resolution and action? Where did your own character have its springs? Was it not in the lives of others? Instinctively you admired your father, your teacher, your playmate-hero. You watched them, and as you watched you grew to understand. You liked them, and all unconsciously your liking grew to be a likeness. Their standards came to be your standards, their ideals your ideals. And when there began for you the life of stories and of books, it was not otherwise. If you loved

\* EDITOR'S NOTE.—This paper by Prof. Burr, and the following one by Prof. Andrews, were read before the New England History Teachers' Association meeting at Dartmouth College in May, 1911.

The papers by Dr. Snedden and by Professors MacDonald and Dawson were delivered before the same association in Boston in October, 1911.

\* De Quincey, "Writings," ed. Masson, x, 48 (in his "Letters to a Young Man"). He owes, he says, the distinction to his conversations with Wordsworth.

† De Quincey, "Writings," ed. Masson, xi, 54 (in his "The Poetry of Pope").



fairies best, it was not because they were less real, but because they were more free—these little folk who needed no grown-ups, who broke so deftly through all that hemmed you in and lived in the open the life you fain would lead. They lost their charm when once you knew their fancies; but not before you had found for yourself in the realm of books other heroes, who squared better with life as you had come to know it, yet who, like these, freed you from hampering time and place and led, through larger effort, to ever loftier ends.

And so, with every step in your growth manward or womanward, as you chose your friends, your school, your fraternity, your church even—if you chose freely—for what they promised you of leadership or of companionship, so, too, in the world of reading you sought out always what brought you into fresher, closer, warmer touch with life—what opened new experiences, quickened new emotions, stirred you in sympathy to bolder deeds, to nobler self-devotion. You did not call it history. Your elders may have called it ballad, epic, romance, the drama, what you please. These are but the names of literary forms. Was not what stirred you in it the story of life, and of life that had been lived? Did it not, to satisfy you, have to be true life—true to every test by which you had learned to discern real life from mawkish sham? That is all that grown-ups ask of their history. The time came, indeed, when with larger experience of affairs you wanted even romance to take no liberties with what you had come to hold as sober facts; when your ripened imagination could at last fill in the background and the links which transform sober facts into real life. Then, exulting in the use of your new powers, you asked only for the sifted evidence or sifted it yourself, and, with the usual contempt of the sophomore for the freshman, denied the name of history to all beside. But was it not still, if still you listened to any voice of appetite within you, the story of life, of personality, of effort—life like your own, but opening to your own a wider living—which alone appealed to you; life not in its dull routine, but in the crises that revealed its worth and meaning? All else was only Mark Twain's diary on shipboard: "Got up, washed, went to bed."

And you were right. It is as rational to seek friends in the past as in the present—as feasible to travel into time as into space. Impossible to know the men and women of the past? What is it that has seemed to let you into the secret of any life? A tone, a random phrase, a detected glance, the flush of a cheek, the quiver of a lip? But these, if they live in your memory, even these are history. And have we less for those whose letters, whose journals, whose quoted words, whose gossip memoirs, whose bursts of lyric self-revelation, whose changing portraits from birth to death, have been gleaned for us by the historian? Nay, how for these, if they lack in vividness, can we borrow and combine from the lives we have observed with our five senses; and how check our hasty inferences by the lifelike comments of friend and foe.

History is but the memory of us all. What friend, with past unwritten and future yet a mystery, can we know unaided as history may help us know the great souls of the past? What friend can we choose—aye, even the best of us—who is so well worth the knowing, who can bring us such warrant of helpful companionship, as these whom time has tested, these who have proved themselves equal to the world's emergencies? No wonder the great books of this world—the books that have made men men—have always been books about life: not "Calls to the Unconverted" or "Whole Duties of Man," but *Iliads* and *Æneids* and *Divine Comedies*, *Plutarch's Lives* and the *Lives of the Saints*, the *Confessions of Augustine*, the soul experiences of *Thomas à Kempis*, *Robinson Crusoe*, the *Progress of Bunyan's Pil-*

grim. The Bible? Yes, but for the life that is in it: for Joseph and Joshua and David and Daniel and the sweet story of the Christ. Not for its moral maxims—not until character had already made itself.

But this—this, you will tell me, is mere biography. Yes, but biographies, as the profoundest thinkers of our day—a Wundt, a Dilthey, an Eucken—have now for long been teaching us, are the very atoms which make up history. All history may be resolved into these. All history may well begin with these. But the same growth which drove us on from the fairy tale to the romance, and from the romance to the sober chronicle, may be trusted to make us soon impatient of the story of the single life. As life for ourselves grows complex through the conflict of mine and thine, we demand from our story that it show us the interplay of lives. Even biography must now give us both the hero and his times. As to our private life there adds itself a public life, we seek our inspiration in the story of public lives; and from our interest in a leader it is but a step to interest in the community he led. A city, a nation, humanity itself, are, after all, not organisms, but, at most, only organizations. They have no head, no hand, no heart, save those of the men and women who make them up; and it may well be doubted whether any soul was ever stirred to love of them, or even to thought of them, except through love of men and women taken singly and through thought of what to these the common weal has meant. Well says Professor Bourne: "If a boy be told to love his country, he might properly inquire, What is my country? It would not be enough to show him a list of the States, or the flag. . . . It is Washington's long struggle to found and organize the republic; it is Jefferson's dream of democratic equality; it is the deeds and words of men who from period to period guided public opinion and settled the national policy." Patriotism and the "enthusiasm of humanity" are, like all enthusiasms, contagious; but, if we would have them something more than a mere overflow of animal spirits, to die out with our youth, we must find for them sure nourishment where alone it has ever been found, in the life of the past—in the memory of our heroes and our martyrs. So fed, the study of national history and of world history will alike take care of themselves, and will be as fruitful in inspiration as in knowledge.

But this, some of you will object, is, after all, sheer individualism, and we are learning now to take the social point of view. Yes, but for society much more than for the individual is the history of personality of moment—and none are keener to see this than the younger leaders of the social movement. If only by sympathy with the leader, the group, mankind, the individual can be kept in step, how hopeless without such a bond must be the mass. What but the love of a common hero, the tradition of a common origin, the memory of a common experience, has ever brought together or held together a party, a sect, a people? How is a national character possible without a national history to embody and interpret it? What is Christendom, the commonwealth of nations, international law, civilization itself, without the common memories which make them ours? When as to these we disagree, we forthwith go asunder. Our common ideals and our common aims are but the echo of common loyalty to a historic past.

Yet let me not seem to urge a stagnant "historism"—a losing ourselves in the past at the cost of the present. The progress of the past should shame us on into the future. Heresy, too, has her pedigree; and thoughtful scholars have dated modern historiography from that sixteenth century day when old Sebastian Franck made complete his "Bible of History" by adding to his chronicle of the Church and his chronicle of the Empire a chronicle of the heretics, reck-



oning to these not only all the reformers and sectaries of his own day, but Augustine and Paul and Jesus himself, nay all who in past or present have listened afresh for truth. It was the message that spake, three centuries later, through our New England pleader for progress:

"By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,  
Toiling up new Calvaries ever, with the cross upon his back;  
And those mounts of anguish number how each generation learned  
One new word of that grand Credo which in prophet hearts hath burned  
Since the first man stood, God-conquered, with his face to heaven upturned."

And I am not afraid that history, thus understood, will pass away. Whatever those who count themselves reformers may offer in its place,—whatever we may gladly and gratefully welcome at their hands,—the sound appetite of mankind will vindicate itself still, and the history that is read will be a history that inspires.

Why, then, need I take your time to set forth thoughts which are not new, and which to many of you, I fear, must savor of the commonplace? And why to teachers, if history, thus conceived, can teach itself? I should blush to do it, were it not, alas, that to these truths precisely, teachers have seemed to me most blind. Frederic Harrison has well said that, while some people can see no use in history, some can see fifty uses, and that it is easier to deal with the former than with the latter. Few writers upon teaching have denied the worth of history. Many have urged its importance to character. Some have even laid upon this all their emphasis. Herbart on this point spoke noble words, which I could wish engraved on every teacher's memory; and not three days ago I picked up a new book on educational ideals by Professor Bagley which as to this leaves naught to be desired. But the teachers' manuals in most general use, the teachers' training schools which I best know, most of the text-books likely to serve as models, lay their stress quite elsewhere. Nay, books and teachers I know in multitude that—out of sheer inert thoughtlessness for the most part, as I believe—would turn history into a mere generalizing science like its neighbors,—who would set it teaching politics, economics, sociology, and these alone.

Do not misunderstand me—I do not mean that history should be made ethics. Heaven forbid! Ethics is the science of morals. I do not mean that history is morals. Morals are *habits* of conduct. History is conduct itself, and conduct that never repeats itself. History never preaches, nor ought we to preach in history's name. But history is the story of human life and human effort; and our pupils are human beings hungering for that story with as sound an appetite as that which chooses and uses the food that feeds their bodies. It needs only that we put it within their reach. But within their reach it must be put. Time, too, they must have, to chew, to swallow, to digest it. Example and companionship they well may have, to spur and cheer them on.

Do you ask suggestion more explicit? I confess my hesitance to translate into practical precept the principle of

which I am so sure. I fear, to use a homely German phrase, lest I "throw out the baby with the bath." Translation is always hazardous. There was that young Cuban whom a dozen years ago I set at translating some of the Spanish documents of the Guiana controversy. Spanish was his mother tongue. His English was ample. Yet, when he first met the polite expression, "whom may God keep"—"my predecessor, whom may God keep," read the document—he translated, with perfect literalness and as perfect absurdity, "my predecessor, whom God may have." So might I be guilty of a *reductio ad absurdum*. There are among you those whose longer and closer acquaintance with the mind of childhood should fit you much better to outline the stages of its ripening. Yet, because it may help to make the principle intelligible, I am going, like my Cuban, to have the courage of my convictions, and shall enumerate roughly the qualities which it seems to me the history which is to satisfy appetite and to nourish character must progressively have.

First of all, then, and from the very beginning, it must be *live* history. I doubt if the child mind at first craves more than this. Fact it need not be, likelihood it need not have, but it must live. Beast will serve for hero as well as human, elf or giant as well as mortal; but life there must be, and action as life's token.

But in due time the budding soul craves more. With imagination, sympathy, too, begins to dawn. Beast and fay and ogre no longer suffice. More and more must the hero be like one's self—human, young, best of all a child like oneself. More and more the action, if it will satisfy us, must have in it purpose, effort, achievement, as well as life—not process only, but progress, and progress willed and earned. The history which will satisfy must be a *growing* history.

Thus far, and for long, interest centers in the single life. All but the hero is mere background. But to the normal child this singleness at length grows stale. Real life is not so simple, its problems not so tame. In the story, too, there must be variety, dialogue, plot, interplay of motive, clash of purpose and of interest. Be it romance or chronicle, comedy or tragedy, history must for us become *dramatic*.

For what seems to me the next notable step in the child's demand I am at a loss for a word. Even the drama has room in the foreground for only an elite. We weary of princes, heroes, paragons. We begin to doubt whether we ourselves and those we love are of the elect. Surely life does not normally run on such a plane. Where is the history that will make interesting plain people and prosaic times? Who has told of the great deeds of the common man,—of the great deeds of man in common,—of the self-assertion of the humble against the privilege of the great? History must now become for us plebeian, democratic, cosmopolitan—*catholic*, shall I say? It is the age when we prefer the history of peoples,—of civilizations,—of humanity.

But already in this demand there has begun to dawn a further. The ripening man has begun to feel the practical worth of history; and, as he feels within him the physical vigor born of a wholesome bodily diet and learns to suit his eating to his needs as an athlete, so, if he be left free, the history of his choice will more and more be that which stirs to action, and which fits him for it—the history which leads him into the life of his own time and place. History for him must be *stimulating* history.

And in the maturing mind, if its opportunities for study be fortunate, there soon begins to assert itself another discrimination. As the theme of history has been brought ever nearer to the actual, so now a like demand is made as to its materials. Some taste of a contemporary narrative, a letter, a document, quickens the appetite for the reading of what has actually played a part in affairs. Some discovered divergence between standard narrative and authoritative source unsettles faith in all that comes at second hand. Now journals, correspondence, memoirs, source-books, become the favorite reading. History at the best must now be *real* history.

Many, nay most, never go further in their craving. But to the genuine student, the mind grown fully ripe, there inevitably comes yet another need, the last—may I dare to say it, the least—of all. It is not enough that history be real. It must become wholly real. Every claim must be tested, every assertion verified, every document examined. Contemporaries and eye-witnesses, too, may err—nay, must err. Research must be exhaustive and unflinching. We must have not only the truth, but the whole truth and nothing but the truth. History, in the last issue, must be *true* history.

Live, growing, dramatic, catholic, stimulating, real, true; it is a rude and scanty outline, needing infinite adaptation, finding multitudinous exceptions at every stage (I doubt myself, for example, whether as things are at present most girls would pass unaided beyond the craving for the dramatic in history—or, at least, whether the catholic and the stimulating answer in them to such a need as in their brothers), yet, such as it is, I believe it roughly suggests the ripening of the normal and sane appetite for history. From one of these stages to another the growing mind may well be led—or, rather, invited—not left to that inertia which sometimes, even in childhood, finds itself content with what is already familiar and pleasant—willing to work out its decimals by common fractions, to cling to dolls when babies should be in order.

May I venture to suggest, too, in their order, the powers whose successive development seems to me the natural outcome of such a historical nourishment—imagination, sympathy, insight, judgment. To illustrate is tempting, but needless.

But is history, then, you will ask, never to be taught as *knowledge*? Knowledge, and knowledge of moment, it may surely be. Without it one can hardly mingle with one's kind. To converse—if one would entertain,—to argue—if one would convince,—to appeal—if one would move,—the world's experience would seem to show a knowledge of history indispensable. How in society, on the platform, at the bar, in the pulpit, it makes up almost the whole bulk of argument and allusion, anecdote and *bon mot*, precedent and illustration.

Yet even here, if one would win one's fellow-men by bettering them, not merely use them for his selfish purpose, it surely is of prime importance that one's fresh history be of that vital sort which tells on character. Less free are we to choose when we make our own, as we all must, that standard equipment of dates and facts which alone can make intelligible to us the allusions, arguments, appeals, of those about us—that equipment which gives our training continuity with the past's. This, however, ill chosen, we can not neglect. Only slowly, generation by generation, can it be made to give place to a better. One goes upstairs, as old Pope Gregory taught us, by steps and not by leaps. In all our study of history there will remain, too, as residuum—there will more and more be sought as end—that wealth of

varied experience which is knowledge in its most concrete and ripest form. It is in this, not in conscious generalization and induction—as an atmosphere rather than a treasury—that history should be most welcome to the students of the generalizing sciences which deal with man—politics, ethics, economics, sociology. Yet if, as teachers of history, we find occasion now and then to enrich our teaching with knowledge drawn from these neighbor studies, who can complain—provided only our study of these warrants our use of them? The danger is that these, thus suffered to poke a head beneath the tent, may little by little usurp the place of history altogether. Ah, how long was what called itself history in school and library, only theology “vindicating the ways of God to man” or “philosophy teaching by examples.”

But I have preached to you long enough. Let me only clinch my sermon with a text. It shall be from an old New England teacher of history:

“History studied as *science* tends to degenerate at once to anthropology; studied as *history*, its great value will be found in its appeal to the imagination, its widening of the sympathy, and its education of the moral sense.” For “history is the study of human life itself,—its action and its passion; of life on its personal, suffering, dramatic, rejoicing, heroic side; of its sin and holiness, its error and its strength, its struggle and its grief.”

## FRONTISPIECE—THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.

BY DR. ERNEST L. HENDERSON.

On January 15th, 1793, it was voted almost unanimously in the French National Convention that “Louis Capet, once King of the French,” was guilty of conspiracy. On the 18th it was voted by a small majority that the penalty should be death. There were then fierce debates as to whether the execution should take place at once or be delayed. On the morning of the 20th, three minutes after midnight, it was voted that the penalty should be inflicted the next day. A heart-rending interview took place that evening between the King and his family. Louis XVI showed great composure on the morning of his execution, and, as he alighted from the carriage at the foot of the scaffold, he bared his own neck for the edge of the knife. He drew back when the executioner wished to bind his hands, but submitted after the priest who was with him, Abbé Edgeworth, had said to him, “Sire, in this new outrage I see but one more point of resemblance between your Majesty and the God who will be your recompense.” Leaning on the arm of the priest, he mounted the steep steps, then suddenly darted across the platform (so Edgeworth, at least, relates) imposed silence by a look on the drummers who faced him, and said in a loud tone: “I die innocent of all the crimes imputed to me; I pardon the authors of my death, and pray God that the blood you are about to shed may never fall back upon France.”

The guillotine stood on the Place de la Revolution, now Place de la Concord, between the vacant pedestal of Louis XV's statue and the entrance to the Champs Elysées. It was twenty minutes past ten when Louis arrived at the foot of the scaffold. To tie him to the upright board, to swing the board on its pivot so that Louis's neck came under the blade and to sever that neck required only two minutes. As was customary with executions, the head was held up by the hair and shown to the crowd. Many rushed to the spot to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood or to gather it up in bits of paper. Any relic was eagerly sought, and the executioner felt obliged to protest publicly that he had not sold the hair. The body was buried in a grave twelve feet deep, and quick lime was thrown in, so that there might be no temptation to rob the grave.

The general attitude of the public seems to have been one of sorrow. “The women . . . in general were pretty sad,” writes a newspaper, and it even tells of insults and reproaches; these, however, it considers “pardonable in a frivolous, fragile sex still under the glamor of the last fine days of a brilliant court.”



# The Value of London Topography for American Colonial History

BY CHARLES M. ANDREWS, YALE UNIVERSITY.

Allow me to express my hearty appreciation of the opportunity which this association has given me of talking very informally this evening, upon a subject which is very much of a hobby of mine, and not on that account, I hope, to be taken any the less lightly; for hobbies, as you all know, are excellent things to have. The study of history has progressed so rapidly in the last quarter of a century, and our energetic young doctors of philosophy are prying so inquisitively into so many of its more remote and far lying aspects that to possess a hobby in history that has not been encroached upon by them, is a feat worth boasting of. How far this subject of mine is likely to be of real historical service, I cannot certainly say, but I am glad to present it to you this evening as possessing the possibilities of service.

The value of sources, that is of documentary sources, has long been understood and appreciated. Perhaps, as is true of some other things, we have become so well content with what are called "original sources," that we forget to look behind the written or printed document into another world of no little interest and value to the historian. It was a great step in advance when the student divorced himself from the printed text of the secondary authority, and began his difficult but inspiring pilgrimage to the shrine of the actual document itself. Such pilgrimage was a veritable crusade in historical education. But this stage of progress, though exceedingly important and in many cases final, is not always the ultimate goal; because, as we are beginning to realize, there are many documents which cannot be adequately understood unless a further search is made. The architects of Europe have long known that to estimate at its full value the meaning and bearing of a record, such record must be studied in relation to its origin, that is, to the source from which it has come. This means that unless a document is studied in the light of its own history, of the circumstances under which it was drawn up, of the office or department, of organization whence it emanated, and of the activities that called it into existence, it loses a part of its value, and can no more be comprehended than can a sentence or paragraph that has been removed from the text of which it is an organic part. Every document has a connection with a world of its own, and it is our business to know as much of that world as we can.

In studying the environment and origin of a large number of documents, particularly of those that concern modern history, we find that there is frequently a background that is as important as the document itself. We find that it is necessary to go not only to the written or printed word, not only to the collection of which that record is a part, not only to the particular men whose official activities called the record into being, but also to the actual surroundings within which the record was written or produced. We need to study what I may call the topography of the document, the visible surrounding of room, office, building, street and city where the system was administered, and to which the document belongs. The particular topography in which I am interested is that of the city of London, and the particular documents in which I am interested are those that relate to our colonial history. Hence the subject of my address to-night.

London of to-day differs greatly from the London of our colonial period, yet the eye of the imagination can with some effort and care reconstruct the conditions of the past. London of the colonial period is one of the most important of the backgrounds of colonial history. From London came many of the men and officials that had to do with our settlement and growth. To London returned many of those who went back to the old country. More than all else, Lon-

don was the seat of the sovereign power that controlled us, and in it were the men and the departments that ordered the system established for the management of our affairs. London was the most important, the largest, and most magnificent of the cities in England that had to do with colonial history. From it governors were sent, from it their commissions and instructions came, from it came the king's orders and proclamations, his charters and deeds, and from it England's colonial policy was directed. To it the governors and others sent their letters and reports, their answers to queries and tables of statistics, and the thousand and one documents that have found lodgement in the British archives. A knowledge of London, therefore, is essential to any understanding of the machinery of colonial management, and a knowledge of that machinery is essential to an understanding of our colonial history.

English constitutional history from 1607 to 1783, a period of 175 years, shows us that during that time the administration and government of England underwent a greater transformation than at any time except in the nineteenth century. This transformation was at its height during the years from 1660 to 1714, and the changes that took place at that period were not merely changes in degree but changes in the fundamental idea of the constitution. They involved the transition from a medieval to a modern state. Before 1660 the king was the head of the state, the officials and departments were his servants and boards, at his beck and subject to his will. The government was essentially a personal one, with the king responsible for the finances, the army, the navy, and to a certain extent the law, as far as it related to equity and admiralty jurisdiction. Some beginnings of a more modern system were made in Charles II's reign, particularly as regards the treasury, but the real change did not begin until after 1688, and not in any large way till after 1702. From that time the king's personal control and prerogative were gradually eliminated, and soon there arose in London a great administrative departmental system, which governed England and the colonies. The importance of this statement lies in the fact that students of American history have assumed with too much complacency that during our colonial period, England's constitutional system was the same from the beginning to the end; they have not fully appreciated the fact that that system was passing through an evolution just as significant as that through which the colonies themselves were passing, and that it is impossible to understand English policy without understanding the changing conditions in England under which that policy was developed and put into practice.

London, the seat of this governmental transformation, was a very interesting place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Recall for a moment the permanent features of its topography. The Thames flowing eastward to the sea makes a sharp bend as it approaches the city, turns north until it reaches the Charing Cross bridge, and then runs slightly southeast past the city and the docks. The London in which we are interested begins with the parliament buildings, lying just above the first bend, and ends at the Tower, more than two miles away. At the upper end where the river runs from south to north we find the visible embodiment of the old constitution, the king and the archbishop, state and church, Whitehall, Westminster and Lambeth. Around the king, in his palace are his officials, occupying chambers, rooms and offices as near to the person of the king as they can get, for they are his servants, and the servants of no one else. It is no accident that the heads of the government are located in Whitehall to-day; for Whitehall was

the king's palace, and historically those who did his business were his menials, occupants of his house. In one part or another of this palace, which ran from St. James Park to the River, and from Charing Cross to Westminster, lived the Lord Chancellor; the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Keeper of the Privy Signet, and here, too, were the Privy Council and the Secretaries of State and the Board of Trade. These officials were most of them housed and lodged by the king, and all of them were waited on at his expense, until as time went on they substituted so many pounds sterling for their "diet," and added the amount as a perquisite to their salaries. Thus in this little circle of Whitehall we have the outward and visible sign of the British system of government; there is its head, and brain, and heart.

Now follow the river to the eastward and you will reach another great centre of London life, another circle of great interest. I refer to the city. To-day the city has lost outwardly much of its original meaning, except on Lord Mayor's day. Few people seem to realize what the city is and enter it without knowing that they are passing within the boundaries of the oldest institution in England that still preserves its identity. The city was bounded originally by a wall, some traces of which still remain in stone, but more in the names that survive. This wall with its eight gates formerly defined the liberties of the city, but as the population overflowed the bounds, new limits were set up in the form of chains and bars, until the liberties and franchises of the city were defined not by the gates, but by the bars, from Temple Bar to Whitechapel Bars, that is, London within the Bars. All who lived without the gates but within the bars, on the north side and the south or Southwark side, were residents of the city of London.

In the city of London was the seat of business and commercial life. The heads of government were in Whitehall, but the business of government was in the city. By taking each department in turn we can discover that practically, though not absolutely all of the subordinate offices were located in the city, a mile and sometimes two miles away. Take the Admiralty, for instance. There were fifteen different subordinate offices, and they were all in the city, scattered about in various streets, in the west, north and east.

Between Whitehall and the city were two more centres of life and activity, but of a very different kind. From Charing Cross to Temple Bar there was a wide road that ran along the banks of the river, which was much wider than it is now, called the Strand. This road was unpaved, for it was not much used for transit, as traffic for pleasure and business was almost entirely by water. This road was a highway through what was in a sense open country, lined by fine houses of the nobility and gentry, and characterized by fields, green grass and trees. Many of the houses were splendid edifices, the houses of some of the famous people in England. This was the residence portion of London, and it stretched away to the northwest, gradually filling up as the population increased and as the growth of business led to the encroachment of mercantile interests upon the residence district. History has repeated itself in every city of importance.

The fourth centre and circle lay at the end of the Strand and beyond Temple Bar, in a region that was originally without the gates and in part without the bars. This was the land at first occupied by the Knights Templars, who at their dissolution gave way to the lawyers, a body of men who were rapidly increasing in importance and in prominence in the life of the government. Within this circle was the Temple—the Inner, Middle, and Outer Temple—and to the north were Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, constituting the four great Inns of Court, while scattered about near by within the same area outside the gates and

between Fleet Street and Holborn were the nine Inns of Chancery, originally subsidiary schools for the training of lawyers. Thus within our fourth circle were the schools and offices of the law, just as in the city were the offices of business. And just as the heads of the government's business were not in the city but in Whitehall, so the great law courts were not located among the lawyers, as they are to-day, but were at Westminster, near the king—the Court of Exchequer, of Requests, the Chancery Court, and the King's Bench and Court of Common Pleas. The courts sat in Westminster Hall, or, as was the case with the Exchequer, in its towers, and each court occupied specially assigned portions of the hall, within railings, on raised platforms. There, legal business, generally done on separate days, was conducted with little privacy, open to the hearing and gaze of all, while at one time the remainder of the hall was taken up with booths and shops, where buying and selling of books, stationery and haberdashery went on. Westminster Hall, peaceful as it seems to-day, must have been in those days a place of much turmoil and confusion.

But one court was not there. For reasons easily understood but none the less interesting, the High Court of Admiralty was situated neither at Westminster nor among the lawyers. It had got among strange fellows, the ecclesiastical courts, which had their place just south of St. Paul's Cathedral. On St. Bennet's Hill, reached by a narrow way from St. Paul's Churchyard, was a gloomy group of buildings—chambers, hall and library—known as Doctors Commons. Here was the home of the doctors of civil and canon law, a college, admission to which was by permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury to those only who had received a degree of doctor of civil law from Oxford or Cambridge. Here were the ecclesiastical courts—three archiepiscopal courts of Delegates, Arches and Prerogative, one Episcopal, the Consistory Court, belonging to the bishop of London—and nearby was the Prerogative office in Dean's Court where special dispensations and special marriage licenses were obtained, and where wills were proven and filed. This was strange occupancy for an Admiralty Court, but the explanation lies in the fact that only doctors of civil, that is, Roman law, could practice in the Admiralty Court, and consequently the court had found it convenient to settle among the lawyers who could practice in it. The mountain had gone to Mohammed.

One more point remains to be stated. Away from Whitehall and yet outside the liberties of the city, was the Tower. The Tower was directly under the control of the crown itself, there were the armories, the offices of the ordnance board, and the mint. It had its own liberties, which extended outside the famous structure to include Tower Hill to the northwest and Little Tower Hill to the northeast, and upon these "hills," which were but parts of a single elevation of ground, were some of the important offices of government, and there, too, was located later Trinity House, that historic corporation which controlled navigation, and beyond was the victualling office, a great caravansary of offices, slaughter houses, and the like, very objectionable to residents who were so unfortunate as to live near by.

Now what is the importance of all this for American colonial history? In the first place, it shows us where and under what conditions the men worked who had a great deal to do in one way or another with colonial history. The Chancery, the Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office—all were intimately bound up with colonial business. It is a gain if we can see these departments and officials at work. To the student interested in American commerce it is worth a good deal to picture to himself the customs house and the docks, the river and the shipping, and to know what happened to our tobacco, or sugar, or fish, or poultry, when it was brought, as most of it was, to London. It is worth a



good deal to follow the captains of our ships when they went to London, to see where they landed and to follow their business in delivering papers and boxes, and in making their reports. It is worth while to know where Baltimore lived, where the Carolina proprietors sat, where the various councils and the Board of Trade did their work, and to give reality to the dozens of incidents and activities that concern colonial history, and yet are mere names or vague shadows to most of our students. All this in itself would be worth the effort of attempting to understand London topography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even if there were not stronger reasons why the knowledge thus acquired would be of real value to us.

But there are other reasons. The physical and material conditions under which a great department works are often suggestive as to the efficiency or inefficiency of its operations. Take the Admiralty, for example. The Admiralty had many quarters—one after the other—before it became finally settled where it is to-day. But all its quarters were in Whitehall. At first the head of the Admiralty was the Lord High Admiral, but after many changes the Admiralty was finally put in commission in 1714. From that time on, except for a short time during the reign of William IV, it consisted of a first lord and three junior lords, who, after 1750, lived in a wing of the present building. Now the Admiralty has rather a peculiar history as far as the colonies are concerned. In the seventeenth century it is almost a negligible factor. Two fleets were in West Indian waters under the Commonwealth; one captured New York in 1664, and another in 1674. A famous expedition, the first of its kind, went to Virginia in 1676 at the time of Bacon's rebellion, and another to New York in 1690 after Leisler's rebellion. Except for the capture of New York, not one of the Admiralty ventures after 1660 succeeded in what it set out to do or arrived at its destination in time. The fleets—to Virginia, Jamaica and New York—were from five months to nine years late, and so far from being of any service to the colonies, the Admiralty were rather a hindrance than help. From this it is evident that matters must have been conducted in a most inefficient and unsystematic manner. With the Admiralty board at Whitehall, the ordnance board in the Tower, the Navy office in Seething Lane in the city, the Victuallery board at the end of East Smithfield, the different officials concerned in despatching a fleet were so far apart that mutual action was difficult and rapid action impossible. Instructions and orders waited days and months for execution. Jealousy and rivalry prevailed, and deliberate obstruction was not infrequent. The fee system helped on the delay; reports would be sent from one department to another, and there was always waterage to pay and perquisites at each office, which generally had to come out of the pockets of secretaries or clerks until the Treasury recouped them, which it eventually did, after taking an unconscionable time about it. There was very little ready cash lying about, and the want of it helped to drag business and to hinder the performance of duty. Procrastination was a common failing; replies awaited the convenience of the official addressed; the latter was frequently out—at cockfights or in the country—when the messenger arrived and orders were pigeon-holed. Between the ordnance board and the Admiralty relations were often far from friendly. The former was an older, and in its own eyes a more honorable board than the latter, and it would take no orders from any one but the king. Colonies, particularly in the eighteenth century, might beg for the means of defence, might ask, as they did ask, for arms and ammunition, or anything else that they needed; sometimes they got what they wanted, sometimes they did not. The Admiralty might complain as it liked, the Ordnance board acted when and how it pleased. Of course, it acted and frequently with effect, yet it was not

inclined to co-operate. Further, it often made curious decisions. It would furnish culverins and mortars and small arms and powder, but the colony must furnish bedding and clothing, and must build the barracks. When disputes arose, the time required to straighten them out would make the slowest official department of to-day seem like a whirlwind of energy. When weeks were consumed in getting orders executed between Whitehall and the Tower and months—not less than three—in getting answers from the colonies, we may not wonder that Bacon's rebellion was a thing of the past when the vessels and soldiers arrived in 1676, or that Sloughter arrived in New York two years after he was due there.

Much the same could be said of the military organization, but with one notable peculiarity. There was very little military organization in England. We talk a good deal about red coats as if they were instruments of British tyranny, but in point of fact most American students of colonial history know very little, if anything, about the actual working of the British military system. It is high time that we knew something about it, for even a slight acquaintance with it helps to explain many things. In the first place, there was no war department properly so called. The king was the head of what military organization existed, and the secretary of state—either one or the other, according to the location of the war—directed the war policy. At the head of the army, which before 1689 was only a temporary affair, raised for the particular object in hand and then disbanded, was the commander-in-chief—and there might be many such at the same time, or there might be none at all. At the side of the commander-in-chief was a secretary-of-war, who after 1700 may be called the head of the war office.

England had no standing army in colonial times, and you remember the feeling that was aroused because James II kept soldiers in arms at Hamslow Heath. There were no barracks because barracks meant permanency, and a permanent soldiery was anathema to the Englishman. When soldiers were raised they had to be billeted, and you will remember that in the Petition of Right there was a particular clause directed against billeting. The only permanent armed men in England were the guards and garrisons, the former of whom were at Whitehall next the king, for their business was to guard the king's person. They are there to-day—the great delight of nurse maids and street gamins, as Hare says. The garrisons were to defend the kingdom, and were stationed—a small and often decrepit force—at such places as Portsmouth and elsewhere. The secretary-at-war became an important official in the eighteenth century, when an army did exist, kept up from year to year by the passage annually of the Mutiny Bill. But he had nothing to do with the militia which was under the secretary of state for the southern department and the lieutenants of the counties; and nothing to do with the guards or garrisons which were under the direct command of the king. He had nothing to say about arms or ammunition which were controlled by the Ordnance Board, acting under orders from the king, or transport, which was controlled by the Transport Board, acting under orders from the Treasury, which also directed matters of supply. He did not pay the soldiers, which was done by an independent official, the paymaster-general of the forces, who appears first in the reign of Charles II.

Is it surprising, in view of the military situation, that we had no adequate military protection in the colonies until after 1756? Until that time the only soldiers in America were the guards and garrisons that were located at New York, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Bermudas, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, beginning with 1679, sent over and promptly forgotten, badly equipped and greatly neglected, the only one of whom that was of importance, so far as the history of the Thirteen Colonies is concerned, was the four

companies in New York. The establishment and allowances for these forces were fixed by the Privy Council, and there was a great deal of trouble connected with the problem of clothing and feeding them; for between the governors in America, the garrison's agent in England, and the Privy Council they were often in a deplorable condition. This want of military protection in America is a significant phase of our history. It threw the colonies upon their own defence, and, generally speaking, they were able to take care of themselves. If England had had a well organized and efficient military and naval system, our colonies might have had a different story to tell, but she did not have it, and it is certainly worth while to find out why she did not. The reasons can be discovered only when we study the men and the offices, the sense of duty and obligation or the want of it, the prevalence of corruption and bribery and maladministration, and the total lack of co-ordination which existed in the methods of conducting business. And there is another aspect that some day we shall have to know more about if we are to understand our military history. Pitt gained a great reputation because he refused to receive, as paymaster-general of the forces, certain stoppages from the soldiers' pay, that had been deemed regular perquisites in the paymaster's office. We do not realize often enough, if at all, the position of the British soldier. We have been accustomed to think of him as wholly bad. Yet the men who fought with us in the French and Indian War and against us in the Revolutionary War never received actually any adequate pay for what they did. Their pay was nothing more than a retaining fee for purposes of loot; their real pay was the plunder and booty that they got in war. Against what pay was given them were all sorts of stoppages, for clothing, victualling at sea, transport and the like, which reduced the amount almost to nothing. The soldiers practically got nothing except their food. No wonder they committed excesses.

I have said something already of the difficulties of communication. This is a subject that demands separate treatment by itself. There was no regular postal service until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and none that was efficient and satisfactory until Pitt took hold of it in 1757. Communication was more frequently by merchant ship than packet boat. The governors of the colonies made up their letters and enclosures in packages and boxes, and gave them to captains for delivery. They sent them in duplicate, triplicate, and even quintuplicate, by different routes, in order that if one were captured or lost, others might arrive. Piracy was common, and despite the system of convoys which was carefully provided for, particularly in war times, vessels were constantly captured. Packets often had strange experiences. Some were seized, others thrown overboard, others handed on from captain to captain, still others went to the continent, and from there were returned to England by another conveyance, while another group might pass from captured ship to captor, which in its turn might be captured and the papers, because taken from prize ships, would eventually get into the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty. Even if everything went as planned, delays ensued. The captain might deposit the packets in the custom house and leave them there; he might take them himself to the Plantation office, which was in Whitehall, a long way from his landing place, and there he might hand them over to the secretary and receive his pay, which was not small, for the Board of Trade frequently complained of the cost of packets from the plantations. Such uncertain methods of communication, quite apart from the time involved, led not only to delays but to frequent losses. There are many gaps in the collections of colonial office papers in England. Such gaps are always to be regretted, but they are particularly to be regretted in the case of copies of colonial journals and assem-

bly proceedings, many of which are neither in this country nor in England, and these losses are probably due to the dangers of transit.

The system of communication had other aspects that made for exasperation in America. All the royal colonies sent over their laws for the royal confirmation or disallowance; Massachusetts and Pennsylvania sent their laws over under a special time limit. The time was reckoned from the date when the law was received by the Privy Council, but not infrequently the colony sent its laws to the Board of Trade directly. The board, knowing that the time limit began when the laws got into the hands of the Privy Council clerk, might keep the laws in its own hands, taking its own time about sending them over to the council board. They sometimes kept colonial laws in this way for three or four years. Massachusetts learned a trick or two after a while and sent her laws directly to the Privy Council, but curiously enough it sometimes happened, after 1746, that the laws got into the hands of the board first, because the captain in delivering them would either neglect the address on the packet or becoming confused in the Cockpit, where the Board of Trade office and the Privy Council office were at opposite ends of a long corridor, would get them in at the wrong door. So far as I can discover there were no office signs on the doors, and the confusion is not surprising. A sea captain unfamiliar with the offices or in the habit of delivering packets at the Plantation office might easily make the mistake.

Again, who wrote the letters that are signed by men whose names are conspicuous as directing colonial policy? Not always the man who signed them. William Knox or John Pownall wrote many of the letters which seem to have been written by Hillsborough or Dartmouth, or Lord George Germain. Who made up the reports and representations of the Board of Trade? Quite as frequently as not the secretary or the clerk of the reports; and though these men commonly acted under instructions from the board itself, they quite as frequently wrote the reports without instructions and the board simply signed them. I am convinced that many aspects of the policy ascribed to heads of departments represent the opinions of permanent secretaries or the traditions and precedents of the office. To find out about these things we must get into the offices and see how business was done, study handwriting and endorsements, and the actual daily routine of the staff.

I have now explained what I mean by topography, and as you have already seen, I am using the word in a special sense. I mean the administrative organization in all its aspects, the men and the rooms, the buildings and the streets, the physical conditions under which the work was performed. I shall have accomplished my purpose if I have pointed out to you that for some features of American colonial history we must look elsewhere than in America. We have been guilty too long of American nearsightedness. We must get over this habit of looking too minutely and too closely at things purely American if we are to solve the problems of American history that await a solution. Nor again can we write American history from our armchairs, with piles of printed books about us. The debates of parliament and the correspondence and biographies of leading men have too long been the stock in trade of writers on American history. As Miss Kingsbury has said, there is a great deal of arduous grubbing to be done, and no one knows better than she what that grubbing is like. Clio may be Olympian, but the Clio of to-day must come down from Olympus and delve and labor in a manner that would shock Lord Bacon, who deemed such methods of historical writing as beneath his dignity. I am hopeful of the future because the American searcher of to-day has already realized that there is no such word as "dignity" in his vocabulary. For it he has substituted the nobility of hard work.



# The Certification of Teachers in the High School, With Special Reference to Certification in History

BY DR. DAVID SNEDDEN, MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

In all the civilized countries of Europe, and in most of the American states where public schools are maintained, there has developed a distinct system whereby public authorities may certify to the fitness of any person drawing public revenue for teaching in the public schools. In Massachusetts we have practically no system of certifying teachers, so far as the elementary schools are concerned. Most of the positions in the elementary schools are filled by graduates of the normal schools, and they are subject to standards and ideals directed by a public body, the State Board of Education. So far as public high schools are concerned, the determination of the fitness of teachers is with the local authorities principally. Where they have a considerable amount of such work, as in cities, they develop systems of testing applicants for teaching positions. In the smaller towns, however, where the school committees are neither equipped for, nor familiar with, the conditions attending the selection of teachers, it may frankly be said that in Massachusetts, with reference to the small schools, there is absolutely no official means of testing the fitness of teachers for their positions. The State Board of Education has a rather direct responsibility with regard to a number of the smaller high schools which receive money from the state treasury, and the State Board of Education, at the last meeting of the Legislature, asked to have a certification measure passed, which should provide a means of certifying any teachers who might apply for such certificates, and enabling the Board to require the possession of such certificates as a condition of teaching. It was interesting that during the debate in committee, and in the Legislature, the statement was made a great many times, "Why don't you extend this system to the entire state? Why not include the large high schools as well as the small ones?" It was thought that some responsible state board should have the power to test the fitness and qualifications of applicants for teachers' positions, at least in the state-aided high schools. The Legislature gave us all we asked for. Whether we shall be asked to do more, rests with the people of Massachusetts. For the high schools that are not aided by the state funds, the State Board has no direct and immediate control, though it has an indirect responsibility. We are very glad that the measure goes no further at the present moment, because many problems will be presented in trying to certify for forty or fifty small high schools in the state. We want your sympathy and your constructive suggestion in carrying out our proposed improvements. Next Wednesday there is to be a conference of the heads of colleges and two other representatives from each to give us some counsel as to the preparation of a proper certification measure. The State Board realizes that any system of certification has to pass on the mental qualifications of applicants, and whether or not it will enable us to say of this one, "He is worthy," it will at least enable us to say of certain applicants, "They are unworthy, we shall not let them be considered."

The second and most important object of a system of certification is that if it is carried out under intelligent management it should progressively set standards for teaching positions in the public schools toward which colleges might approximate. Over a series of years, an important function of the Board is that it shall see that instructors in high schools are held to definite standards of preparation; and to hold out ideals to the students, and to progressively elevate the quality of those who are undertaking so important a

work as teaching in our public schools. Hitherto the system has been such as to actually discourage such elevation of standards; because if, of two college or university trained teachers, one had not elected the courses necessary to properly prepare him for his work, and the other one had so elected, there was no guarantee whatever that the better qualified person would obtain the position, since so many other elements entered into the selection.

Now, I mentioned a second point; whether the administrative agencies in charge of this certification could meet their responsibilities. My own personal conviction is that no system of written examinations will accomplish these purposes. I have long since ceased to have very much faith in written examinations as a means of testing teaching ability or any other kind of ability on which the world puts a premium. Consequently if our Board cannot do better than hold written examinations and then maintain people to mark the papers, and issue certificates on that basis, the second object might not be attained, even though in a measure the first would be. My own feeling is that somehow or other, representatives of the public school system of the state, or the public authorities should be able to enter into relations, and to co-operate with the institutions preparing teachers. Of course, in our state all these are private institutions. I feel that they should enter into co-operation with these institutions, so that between them, by a system of credentials and statements and other evidences, we should be able to certify the properly qualified teacher, the growing teacher, without subjecting that person to written examinations by an external authority. We are now working on an arrangement by which we hope to be able to receive from any college in the state, regarding a given individual, statements from the instructors responsible for his education, on the basis of which we can say that the person is qualified to teach in our state-aided high schools. This is going to put a very large and difficult responsibility on the Board, and much responsibility on those of you who prepare teachers. It seems to me that it is along that line of co-operation that, looking forward over the years, we can bring teaching in this state to the level of a profession. Teaching is not yet regarded as a profession by the vast majority of people. Do not let us pretend that it is. Those teachers who, after years of preparation, reach the better positions, have begun to present some of the aspects of a profession, to which fact such a gathering as this testifies. But if teaching were where it should be, this gathering should be five or six times as large as it is. Now, I cannot go into details as to our methods. Those are still matters of discussion. Fortunately, our experiment is to be tried on a very small scale at first. We do believe that the colleges of Massachusetts having graduates who expect to go into teaching positions will co-operate with us, telling us what work they can do. We need generous and enthusiastic aid, and recognition of individual merit; and if the Board will set broad standards and not narrow ones, it seems to me that by and by we shall have a system that will be worth while. The result will be that a young man or young woman deciding in the junior or senior year to prepare for teaching in a certain field, will know about what is expected of him in standards and extent of preparation, and will take steps to fit himself accordingly. You and I cannot hope to be of the best service to the State of Massachusetts unless we perform such service as that. We do not want the colleges in the attitude of saying of their

graduates, "Take them or leave them." We do not want the Board holding examinations which are open to everybody, whether competent or not. That is a mechanical and very unsatisfactory method of building a teaching profession. If we can grasp these principles well I think we shall get along. We should have in each city some body to pass on the qualifications of teachers; if it desires the services of the Board, it is at the service of the Commonwealth. Because there is no direct responsibility, the Board is not looking for work except where the law authorizes it to expend money, and there the Board does feel a very keen sense of responsibility for the quality of the work and services rendered the state.

If I may be permitted, I would like to say a few words about some of the more specific problems confronting us, the same as I would say if discussing the training of teachers, because the two things, to my mind, go together. In the first place, as to small high schools, it is a fact that our teachers cannot be specialists to any great degree. There are seventy or eighty high schools in Massachusetts that have only two teachers apiece. They may look small to us, but they are big institutions in their own agricultural communities, and it is our business to make them very effective. Many of the ablest men in the country have come from these small schools, and owing to the conditions of life in the country, and its hardy influences, it is reasonable to suppose that a great many of the important men of the future will come from there. But the teacher who teaches in a two-teacher high school will teach more than one subject. He must be prepared to teach, for example, History and English, and perhaps German or something else; and it must be the business of the colleges and of the authorities in charge of the certification of teachers to recognize the facts as they are in this direction. We cannot have history specialists or Latin specialists in these small country high schools. We must have bright and intelligent men and women, and fortunately from some points of view, most of them will always be very young; we must have them qualified to do good work. I myself in all my discussion, and as soon as I get to it, in my writing, propose to set before the teaching profession a distinct, clear goal; the same goal as that held by California; no person in California to-day may enter a high school as a teacher who has not graduated from an approved college or university, and taken one year of graduate work and specialized preparation for teaching. If we can reach that standard, and we can in five years if we get together, and refuse to consider anyone eligible unless he has had a year of graduate work, focussed toward the particular field of teaching, which might be defined as English and History, or History and German—because the small school must be considered—if we can do that, it seems to me that then we shall have done much towards removing high school teaching out of the field of casual labor, as it so often is now. So much for standards. In the meantime the Board proposes to ask—this will be the subject of the conference next Wednesday—that any person applying to the Board for certification to teach in the state-aided high schools shall present at least two majors and two minors—these are explained in our circular—a major is defined as six year-hours in a particular field, and a minor as three year-hours in a particular field. Our certificate indicates the subjects in which the holder is qualified to teach. If a person says, "I am a Harvard graduate; I want to teach History and English and German," we shall ask if he has had the required number of year-hours in those subjects, and if so, the work may be approved, and on the basis of that can issue a statement that he is qualified to teach. We expect to impose no additional test at present. We propose to set relatively low standards at first, and then as conditions warrant, work up. It simply means that the History Department of Harvard or of any other institution that is interested in seeing its grad-

uates teach will tell us of a given candidate that he has had so many years of history. We have no reason to think he cannot teach the subject as it is ordinarily required. Perhaps some officers of the Board can confer with the history teachers of the college, and determine what would be the most effective preparation in that field. We realize perfectly that work in college in History or English in the earlier years can have no bearing on teaching. I propose that those who are going to teach should be directed to take certain courses, designed primarily for such persons. And in course of time, we trust it is not an extravagant hope that we shall be able to require the candidate also to have had adequate training in teaching history, in the pedagogical problems of the subject. We hope that time will come, and not too far in the future, when if such a candidate says he has not had such training, we can say to him, "Go back, and give a little time to the study of teaching history. There is an art of teaching; equip yourself a little in it." At present, we do not propose to ask for that. Many institutions are not prepared to give it. In the course of time they will.

Of course, you know that history teaching in high schools is one of the newer subjects. We have had great expectations of the subject. You may talk to the average citizen, and you will never find him opposed to it. He may be opposed to a language requirement, or even to a mathematical requirement, but never to the teaching of history. He has faith that the results are good. You know there has been a great deal of disappointment with this subject, because we have no satisfactory pedagogy. I should like here to indicate to you what is one of the largest problems that a state authority has to face in the formulation of standards of teaching ability. I find it myself coming up in every department of our work. It is a pedagogical question. The question is this: When a subject is taught in the schools, what is it taught *for*? We have often been handicapped in the past by conditions which in effect indicated to us this conclusion: You are teaching this subject with the one purpose of getting by such and such an examination, a college entrance examination, or Mr. Somebody's examination over there. Most of the work in history has had its character shaped and determined, I believe, by college entrance requirements as in other subjects.

But from a valid educational point of view, it is never sufficient to say that we teach a certain subject in order that the pupil may pass a certain examination; nor even in order that he may know some history. There is a question beyond that, ladies and gentlemen. You teach history to the boy or girl that he may know history, for what purpose? why should he know history? It is a curious thing that the gap between my first question and my second is to-day a gap which is a chasm, not only a chasm, but one filled with clouds; and we cannot see the bottom or the further side. When you say you teach history in order that he may know history you are setting up a definite goal. But when I ask you, why should he know history, no one has told us. We do not know. We do not know why he should know some history, and until we do know, and until we can formulate our purposes, our methods and courses will be very lame and halting. The public to-day has great expectations of history teaching, but what is it the public expects from it? It is difficult to phrase it. I have no doubt you feel it in general terms yourself. The first suggestion would be that it encourages good citizenship and manhood, that it helps prepare our future citizens for their duties. The difficulty is that we do not know how our history teaching functions in that way as a matter of scientific knowledge. We only guess that it does. We have no valid standards as to materials or methods in teaching history. We are simply beginning at the wrong end of the matter. On the whole, we should reverse the order. Your chairman knows that this is my pet hobby, and one that perhaps ought not to be mentioned



in polite society. What I mean is this: That the real purpose in the study of history—no, there is no purpose in the study of history as such, but one of the real purposes of education is to get the mind into an understanding, an intelligible and idealized grasp of the social environment, which is suggested by Continental and American History to a certain extent. To get him to see in perspective the social environment. Now, the social environment has length and breadth. We may call the length chronological order and the breadth geographical, if you please—longitude and latitude. Now, of course, no person knows his own social environment until he knows it in perspective, and can see into the distance, and by that process get his relative position. Our duties are to teach history, and also to teach something that has not been named, but which I call sociology, not sociology as defined by the sociologists; it is the carrying of the youth back into all sorts of beginnings, into places and times when things began, and where social forms were elementary. But the young person goes back there on the basis of his and the teacher's contact with the local situation. I cannot but help think it is a mistake to teach Greek and Roman History as we do, thinking it is education.

Is it not true that a right system of certifying teachers should involve a co-operative attitude on the part of all those who have anything to do with the preparation of teachers or their qualifications, in an official way? By and by, through that co-operation, we should be able to set standards of increasing competency. That will involve a close study of the work we have to do. One of the great mistakes of the past was that the person who taught history was not studying the work he had to do. His work was not that of the historiographer, primarily, but that of the teacher of history. No one can teach without knowing history. Teaching and study are different things, but it seems to me that we could set up standards, and out of it all should come a more fruitful work in the high schools themselves; that more and more every teacher in the high school would know how to teach her class on some basis that is psychologically defensible. At present, we do not know that they do. This is a fruitful field of research at the present time. More and more I hope we shall have every young man and woman knowing what they expect to accomplish—not teaching Algebra because it is Algebra, but because it is a step in a large purpose of which they have a clear conception. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have not spoken altogether on the certification of teachers, but I have indicated the policy the State Board has in mind in this very important plan for the certification of teachers. I thank you for your attention.

## From the Point of View of the College

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM MACDONALD,  
BROWN UNIVERSITY.

We are, I suppose, in the somewhat humiliating position of endeavoring to devise a plan by which we can elevate to the dignity of a profession that which is not now such. I myself do not see how the business of secondary school teaching in the United States is to attain to the dignity of a profession until there is a much improved method of selecting teachers, a much improved condition in regard to tenure of office, and a much improved condition with regard to compensation.

I ought to say at the outset that it seems to me it is not a primary purpose of the college to prepare students of history to teach history, and that the history teacher in college

who sets that purpose before himself as a primary aim is in difficulty from the beginning. I think that the object in teaching history in a college, from the standpoint of both the instructor and the student, is simply that of teaching the subject, of imparting as much knowledge of history, in the particular field in which one may be working, as is practicable under given conditions; and that this is, for all practical purposes, the only object at which the history teacher should aim. I can see no more reason why the college teacher of history should undertake pedagogical methods of teaching history, or adjust his course so that those who finish will be to that extent skilled in teaching, than I can see why the teacher of English should teach composition and literature with regard to the fact that some who are in his class are going to become magazine and newspaper writers; or than why a teacher of Latin should teach Latin with special reference to those of his pupils who expect to become Roman Catholic priests, and will have to speak it. I feel that any attempt to make that adjustment will fail from the beginning.

In the first place, the average college professor has never had any training in pedagogy; he often has some distrust of the subject, and even a good-natured, but rather deep-seated, contempt for it. If there be any such thing to-day as a science of pedagogy, the war and clash of weapons and the crimination and recrimination that go on between the professors of the subject somewhat obscure its nature. And until the professors of pedagogy in our schools and colleges get together and show a little more harmony and agreement as to what is worth while in that department, I, as a college man, must decline to have anything in particular to do with it.

I must go further, and say that it does not seem to me to be the primary object of history teaching in either college or secondary school to enable the pupil to understand or appreciate his social environment. That is making the stress fall on the wrong point. It is making the study of history bear almost wholly upon the present and the future. It seems to me that the thing we lack in this country, in our colleges and universities, and are coming to lack most seriously in secondary schools, is what may be called an interest in intellectual things—in things that have been, or that have been done or thought, *because* they have been, or have been done or thought, and are a part of the record of the progress of the human race. To teach history, political economy, literature or any other subject with a view to "envisaging one's own immediate environment" is to throw about the teaching of these subjects very much the same obscuring atmosphere that theology has often thrown about other subjects. It is to be always drawing attention to what you are to become—not to what you have been. If the teaching of history in secondary schools has no better object than a mere practical application of this sort, then the sooner it surrenders its place in the curriculum, the better.

Here in New England—to turn to the matter of the certification of teachers of history—we have to remember that we are in a somewhat peculiar situation as compared with the rest of the country. The certification of which Dr. Snedden has spoken is such as will proceed, in one form or another, from a public authority; in this instance, a state board. Eventually it would come to that in most states. But in New England we have to remember that our colleges and universities, with few exceptions, are private institutions, and that between them and any public authority there is neither legal nor corporate relationship, and to a large extent there never will be or can be. We do not, I suppose, seriously apprehend that the time is near when the State of Maine will say what Bowdoin College shall teach, or how it shall teach it; or when the State of New Hampshire will dictate to Dartmouth College in such matters. Conse-

quently, any working relation which exists between the colleges and the public authorities must be of a purely voluntary nature. It can never be either corporate or legal, save perhaps in the case of institutions yet to be established.

The question, then, is as to who shall issue the certificate. Granted that it is a desirable thing in itself that the teachers of history in secondary schools shall receive some official certificate of competency, who is to issue it? Personally, I believe that any system of issuing certificates which does not involve a sound and thorough examination in the subject will not be satisfactory. No system based on character, or attainments, or what not, but which omits the rigorous discipline indispensable to a robust intellectual life, will be worth the trouble. Who is to administer that kind of a system? I must confess, as a college man, to much distrust of a system not in practice administered by college men. With the utmost respect for boards of education, I question the competency of such boards as in twenty-five years I have happened to know to apply proper tests. What assurance has the historical faculty of Harvard University or of Brown University that the state board is competent in the historical field, particularly when, as in the case of history, we are dealing with a subject not yet long or universally recognized? We could be assured of more competency in mathematics, for few members of state boards would have the temerity to set examinations in that subject, but would almost certainly seek expert aid; but I never saw many members of a state board of education who did not feel themselves competent in such subjects as English and geography and history.

We have a further question about the relation likely to exist between any public certifying system, granted that it is impeccable, and the historical faculties of the colleges and universities. Every college teacher of history, I suppose, has experience of the fact that his students, as they get along in the junior and senior year, or begin to look forward to graduate study, come to him with the hope that he may be able to help them. With a formal certifying system in force, a delicate situation is likely to arise. It is entirely possible, for example, that a departmental faculty in Harvard University might deem Mr. A. a competent person to teach in a secondary school, while the Board of Education might take a different view. Such a difference of opinion would be unfortunate, but it would be almost certain to appear unless the standards set by the board were, to all intents and purposes, the standards of the university. How is it proposed to get out of that difficulty? California, Illinois and several other states have so adjusted their educational systems that there is more or less of legal relation between the lowest and highest schools. We do not have that in New England. And, particularly, if the board should undertake to lay stress on pedagogical instruction in history, with the present temper of the historical fraternity, I think that a line of cleavage would presently be discovered between the colleges and the state educational authorities.

Permit me to repeat that, to my mind, the main thing is that the teacher of history should know history. The great trouble is that so many attempt to teach who do not know the subject. It is high time that colleges, as well as schools, demanded a higher degree of competency in their teachers. Too frequently young men are set at teaching in our colleges who are unequal to the task, and whose students suffer in consequence. But the remedy is not so much to provide them with pedagogical equipment or a state certificate, as it is to insist that they know a great deal more of the subject which they are expected to teach.

In the matter of certification of students for teaching positions in history, the Department of History at Brown University has for some years had the following system: A

three-hour course throughout the year in general European history is a required subject for all students. As electives they are offered courses in English, European and American history of different periods, together with seminary courses of elementary research. No indorsement is given to any student who has not had at least two three-hour elective courses throughout the year, in addition to the three-hour required course; and one of these electives must have been either American or English history. The student must also have maintained a creditable standard. We use the following system of marking: "P" is a passing grade, "C" is the credit grade, and "H" is for excellent work. No one who does not maintain an average mark of "C" can receive any certificate at all. We call such an indorsement a minor certificate, and it is the least indorsement we will give.

If the student wants what we call a major certificate, he must add to the above requirements one elective course, and one course in research. The major indorsement, in other words, represents fifteen hours throughout the year, or one full year of college work in history, with an average grade of "C;" and one of the courses has to be a course of research. Moreover, we do not give either the major or minor certificate to any student who seems to us obviously unfit to teach. Of course it is not possible to have a fixed standard in this last matter. I have a number of times said to students who had obvious physical peculiarities, that I should feel it my duty to state to the principal of a school that there was this peculiarity. If the student has qualities not likely to be changed, which unfit him for teaching, and which seem to make work in other lines advisable, we do not give him the certificate. Further, we decline to address letters of any sort "To whom it may concern." We are willing to write an indefinite number of letters to persons whose addresses the applicant has obtained, or whom we think may be of assistance to him; but we do not write general letters. Finally, we never assume to guarantee that the student will make a good teacher; we wash our hands of responsibility for competence in that direction. All that we say is that, so far as we can see, he is fitted; that he knows enough to teach the subject, and that we can see no reason why he should not become a good teacher. That is as far as the department touches the pedagogical problem.

## Standards of Certification Outside of New England

BY PROFESSOR EDGAR DAWSON,  
NORMAL COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY.

As I understand it, my function in this discussion is to recall to our memory some of the standards of certification for high school teachers that are being maintained elsewhere than in New England. This is in order that we as good students of history may determine what we should attempt only after we know that has been done. As a general proposition, the standards are being raised all over the country, if I may judge by the reports that have been coming to me. To be more accurate, the requirements are being made more difficult. I say, to be more accurate, for while there is a good deal of truth in Mr. Dooley's remark that all education is good if it is disagreeable, I am not sure that an eligibility requirement is improved by being made burdensome. In my discussion the central ideas will be the time necessary for the preparation of teachers for their work, and the persons who ascertain whether this preparation has been made, that is, whether the time has been well used.



It will be possible in the time at my disposal to do nothing but recall to your memory a few of the things with which you are acquainted; it will be impossible for me to describe the conditions in even one place to those not already somewhat familiar with the question. This is especially true because of the lack of accurate terminology in which to discuss any educational question. One speaks of an examination with disparagement, as did a person who recently sent me one of the best answers to a list of questions I sent out. But whether we approve of an examination depends entirely on the attitude of mind, the type of training, and the fund of information that we attribute to the examiner who conducts it. Of course the expressions high school graduate or bachelor's degree mean almost nothing unless we know the institution not to say the teachers concerned. When we ask for a state law to raise the standard of teaching, they give us a law such as I will quote: "Each school must employ at least one teacher legally certified to teach book-keeping, civics, general history, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, including plane surveying, rhetoric, English literature, Latin, including Caesar, Vergil, and Cicero, and the elements of physics, chemistry, including chemistry of the soils, botany, geology, and zoology, including entomology." Of course, if a high school candidate is to be examined in all these things I disapprove of the examinations, and of the examiner and of everything else connected with such a farce. I am going to devote my time to recalling to your attention the conditions prevailing in Prussia, France and California, so far as I can. Most that I have to say, except my errors, has been better and more fully said in an interesting book published this year by Mr. J. F. Brown through the Macmillans.

When German schools are mentioned, one at once thinks of thoroughness, formalities, conservatism, discipline, accurate information, uniformity. Furthermore, one thinks, as did a friend of mine in a recent conversation, of checks on the free use of initiative, checks on the inspiration of youth. To my remark that the average candidate for a gymnasium position is 27 years old, he waxed eloquent about the hopeless future of a country which checks the activity of youth in this way. Some persons do not understand how one can spend so much time getting ready to teach a secondary school, but the matter is simple; 3 years in the elementary school, 9 years in the high school, 1 year in the army, 5 years in the university, 2 years of training in the theory and practice of teaching. This allows for very little side-motion, very few changes of plan, not much sickness or loafing; it also requires in many cases considerable self-sacrifice on the part of some one, for there is some expense to be met, and a long delay in entering upon a career. Of course, the candidate need not have spent five years in the university. Three years is the lower limit. Yet, so far as I can learn, the average is over, rather than under five years. It is true he probably takes his doctor's degree as an incident to preparing to teach in the secondary schools, but that is of no special significance. The doctorate is merely a mile-stone in his course, it is not a goal. It isn't something to be worked for in particular. During the five years he becomes a professional man—not professional in the sense of a professional golf player, where money-making is the positive difference, but in the sense of the scholar where money becomes the negative difference. He gets it on his way to his education as a boy gets P. B. K. as an incident of the college course. For a long time, I tried to convince myself that the charge that Americans think more of money and use it more regularly as a standard of achievement than the Europeans do, was a slander. But I have never been able to convince myself completely. I say this with hesitation, and I should be grateful if some one will convince me that I am wrong. The atmosphere in a German university seems to me to breed ideals of a different sort from most of our own.

When the student of 19 leaves the secondary school in

Prussia, he is disciplined in a way that few of our schools discipline their students. He can use his mind as an athlete can use his muscles. He knows what he can do with it. It is under his control. Incidentally, he has a considerable store of information. When he leaves the army after the one year which he must serve, his character has been still further disciplined. I am no advocate of militarism, but I wish our boys had to go through some experience at some time in their lives which would teach them to be orderly and systematic; and that authority is to be obeyed because it is authority. No one can command who cannot obey, and the year in the army is not the least useful preparation of the German secondary school teacher.

But this is all very general, what is the legal requirement for certification? It is an examination or a series of examinations and tests. One may not be examined, however, until he has graduated from the high school—no pleas of private study and self-preparation. And he must have been in the university at least three years. His biographical sketch with documentary evidence to support it must show that he has used his time profitably. Of course, he has in his preparation the guidance of definite knowledge as to what is to be expected of him, which our young men have not. With this preparation, he may be accepted as a candidate. He is then assigned two theses for written discussions, and he must not devote more than 16 weeks under ordinary circumstances to the preparation of them. If these papers are accepted, he is admitted to a written examination, the successful passage of which leads to the oral examination.

Now there are two things to be especially noted about these tests—first, they are conducted in large measure by university professors and wholly pervaded by the spirit of university scholarship. The examiner who questions the candidate in history is likely to be a scholar with an international reputation, and will conduct such a test as a self-respecting master of his subject can subject himself to without humiliation. I leave comparisons with some other examinations with which we are familiar to your imagination. In the second place, this examination is a personal affair. Only a few can come up at once—two or three—and each one is as thoroughly tested as if the welfare of the German Empire depended on the results. When these tests are over, the examiners are convinced that the candidate has the qualities of mind and character that will make a good enough teacher. But youth is to be still further impeded. The candidate may know a great deal without knowing how to teach. Therefore, now that he has shown that he has the grounding to undertake the task, he is to be taught how to do it. He is required to serve an apprenticeship of two years, the first without pay, and the second with more or less salary, depending on the amount of work he is permitted to do. The first of these years, his seminary year, is largely taken up with the theory of pedagogy, with enough practice in teaching under supervision for him to observe the theory at work. Each week he meets with the seminary for a two-hour discussion of the theory and practice in the light of his experience; and before the end of the year, he is required to submit a written discussion of some aspect of his work. During the second year he is to an extent in the place of a substitute teacher under direction and supervision. If his work during this year is satisfactory, he is granted the full license. He is then from 25 to 30 or more years old. But he is sure of a position for life, with a salary large enough to support "his family in comfort, and to meet the requirements of good living in the social class to which he belongs; while the certainty of a pension [not only for himself but for his wife and children as well] in case of misfortune or death after a few years of service, relieves him from anxiety for the future." His social position is the equal of that of a judge or a clergyman, and he is promised

a long life of respected dignity and usefulness in his community.

As to the requirements for eligibility in France, what I have to say is mainly to emphasize the fact that the authorities there succeed pretty well in getting well-trained teachers by depending wholly on the examination system. No very definite qualification seems to be demanded for admission to the examination. So far as I remember, no specific number of years in the university nor any written discussion are required. The Department of Education finds the need of a certain number of teachers for the secondary schools. An examining commission is constituted and the aspirants are notified. Again the examination is conducted under the inspiration of university teachers, but with enough school men to insure a complete judgment. Since only a small number of those who present themselves to the commission can be selected, the examination is made competitive. Therefore, the standard is set by the candidates themselves, or rather by the best trained among them. These last are likely to come from the Higher Normal School of Paris, which is a specialized training school for teachers, admission to which is on competitive examination, and in which the students are completely supported by the state and given every possible opportunity of congenial companionship with others pursuing the same ends and freedom from cares to prepare them perfectly for their work. Yet these students spend from five years upward in getting ready for the Aggregation, as the examination is called. It should be remembered that we have in mind here the examination for the better class of high schools.

In New York there is now some agitation about the "merging of lists." That is, a number of persons who have low marks in older eligibility lists think they should be appointed before those having high marks on more recent ones. In France they have no such trouble. They conduct an examination, select the best so far as they are needed, and then burn the lists. Those who fall below can become honest carpenters or wait another year and try the examination again—they may take positions in inferior schools.

One of the principal stumbling-blocks in the way of the proper preparation of teachers in this country is the time it takes to get adequate training. There are short-cuts to most other professions, therefore the easy road to this one has to be kept open, some say. In reference to the requirements in California, therefore, I say at once that it is a four-year high school course, followed by a four-year college course and a year of graduate work—the last to be taken preferably in one of the Associated American Universities. The time requirement then is equal to the minimum German requirement—17 years, including all grades of preparation. The difference that first presents itself is that the Germans in almost all cases spend more than the minimum and at better schools than we have. There are other ways of becoming a high school teacher in California, but this is the normal way, and is producing excellent results.

So far as I am aware this requirement of the B. A. plus a year of graduate work is supported by the weight of opinion in this country, and is generally regarded as sufficient provided the time is well spent. One great argument for such a system is that the candidate is practically on trial during the entire year of his graduate work, since he has definitely signified his intention of becoming a secondary school man. The university has an excellent opportunity to judge of his character, ability, training and attainments. If I might add a word of exhortation in conclusion, I should plead for a requirement of evidence that the candidate has had an opportunity to prepare himself for his work, and then that his preparation be tested by persons who know the subject with which they deal and who have demonstrated their interest in the welfare of the schools.

## Periodical Literature

HENRY L. CANNON, Ph.D., EDITOR

(Conducted with the coöperation of the class in Current Literature of Leland Stanford, Jr., University. Contributions suitable for this department will be welcomed. Address: Box 999, Stanford University, Cal.)

The power of finance in modern history is well brought out in "The Significance of the Persian Question," by Roland G. Usher, in the "Atlantic Monthly" for March. However desirous the constituent states may be to form an alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan States and Turkey, extending from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, "Until the domination of England, France and America in the financial world can be decisively offset by German capital, little of the great scheme can be executed."

"New Splendors of Old Rome" is the attractive title with which Professor Dante Vaglieri heads an illustrated article upon the recent excavations at Ostia, in the March issue of the "Cosmopolitan." He tells us that in 1803 Pope Pius VII undertook excavations and succeeded in unearthing various treasures of this famous old seaport. Again, in 1870, Professor Lanciani undertook the work, with interesting results. Twenty years then elapsed with no further attempts until the writer began the present series of excavations which promise so much. He prophesies that Ostia, owing to her advantageous location by the sea, will become a great, flourishing, industrial city.

The new history teachers' magazine in Germany, "Vergangenheit und Gegenwart" (Teubner, Berlin), is showing a high grade of excellence, and we doubt not will secure a wide circle of American readers. The first number for 1912 contains an excellent article by the editor, Dr. Fritz Friedrich on the relations of historical science and history teaching, in which are some sensible comments on the use of sources in school instruction. He also makes an earnest plea for more interest in school problems on the part of scholars and investigators. The same number contains a brief discussion by Rudolf von Scala on the treatment of Greek and Roman history in secondary schools. He urges a more comprehensive view of ancient history, and especially emphasizes the need of more attention to the much-neglected Alexandrian period and the Hellenistic influence. Issue number two for 1912 contains a useful annotated list of recent German publications on the teaching of civics (Staatsbürgerliche Erziehung). The problem is as much a live one in the old world as in the new.

In the "American Journal of Sociology" for January, Professor Alfred H. Lloyd, of Michigan, takes up "The Case of Purpose against Fate in History." If history and civilization had lacked great men, its prophets and its martyrs, the case of purpose against fate would have little or nothing to rest upon. . . . Greatness has ever translated seeming fate into human purpose . . . ; and what greatness has done at special moments or periods and with notable achievement all individuals are forever hammering at."

Two important addresses should be noted in this column. The one is that of the editor of the "Fortnightly Review," W. L. Courtney, appearing in that periodical in March. It is upon "Sappho and Aspasia" and presents them very strikingly as women of great intellect seeking to give the fullest expression to their gifts. Living at different times and under different conditions, in some respects they afford a marked contrast in their careers.

The other address, of quite a different sort, is that of the veteran jurist, Simeon E. Baldwin, upon "The Progressive Unfolding of the Powers of the United States." This was presented at the eighth annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, and appears in the "American Political Science Review" for February.

The "Edinburgh Review" for January has three articles of varying importance according to the interest of the reader, namely, "Russo-Chinese Relations" (A.D. 1224-1912), "Chatham and the Country Life of His Day," and "Pitt." These are based upon recent publications.

The "Catholic World" for March contains an opening account of St. Clare of Assisi, by Father Cuthbert. "These articles on St. Clare are written in view of the seventh centenary of St. Clare's 'conversion' to the religious life, from which originated the Second Franciscan Order of the Poor Clares. The saint left her home and took her vows on the night of the 18-19 March, 1212."



# History in the Summer Schools

## Courses to be Given in the Subject During the Summer, 1912

### UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Chicago, Ill., June 17 to August 30.

#### HISTORY.

1. European History; Medieval Period, 376-1300. Dr. Jernegan.
2. European History; Later Medieval and Early Modern Period, 1260-1715. Prof. Walker.
- 4C. History of Egypt, Babylonia, and Early Orient.—A brief course covering the field to the second period of the Egyptian Empire. Prof. Breasted.
- 4D. History of Egypt, Babylonia, and the Early Orient.—A brief course covering the field from the second Egyptian Empire to the fall of Persia. Prof. Breasted.
5. History of Greece to Death of Alexander.—Outline study of the development of the political and social life of the Greek people. Mr. Huth.
6. History of Rome to the Death of Constantine.—Outline study of the development of the political and social life of the Romans. Mr. Huth.
- 9A. Industrial and Social History of Europe.—From the Roman Empire to the Reformation. Prof. Thompson.
12. The French Revolution.—The decay of the French Monarchy; Louis XVI; attempts at reform; the calling of the States General; the Republic; Napoleon Bonaparte. Prof. Thompson.
17. Constitutional and Political History of England.—From the reign of Edward I to the Stuart Restoration. Dr. Read.
30. History of the United States; Division and Reunion, 1829-1884. Prof. Shepardson.
43. The Church and the Roman Empire.—A study of the introduction of Christianity into the Roman Empire; the establishment of the papacy; the spread of Christianity; influence of the church upon social, industrial, and political life of the Empire. Prof. Walker.
67. Social, Industrial, and Religious History of England.—The Tudor and Stuart Periods. Dr. Read.
- 81C. American Social and Industrial History, 1750-1820.—The industrial, social, and religious conditions of the eighteenth century; the westward movement; the early West. Dr. Jernegan.
- 83A. Constitutional History of the United States, 1789-1829. Prof. McLaughlin.
98. The South from 1833-1861.—Growth of slavery; annexation of Texas; the Mexican War; social and industrial conditions; secession; outbreak of war. Prof. Dodd.
100. Teachers' Course in American History, 1760-1860.—An examination of the materials for studying and teaching American History. Investigation of special topics. Prof. Shepardson.
114. South Carolina and the War with Mexico. Seminar. Prof. Dodd.
- 117C. Problems in American Constitutional History. Seminar. Prof. McLaughlin.

#### DEPARTMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

2. The Reformation. Prof. Moncrief.
36. The Religious History of England in the Eighteenth Century. Prof. Moncrief.
- 25A. The History of the Conflict between Science and Religion. Dr. Gates.
- Life and Letters at Athens from Pericles to Demosthenes. Prof. Shorey.

### UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO.

Denver, Col., June 24 to August 3, 1912.

1. Europe in the Middle Ages, A.D. 376-1300. Prof. Willard.
2. American Diplomatic History, 1789-1900. Prof. Willard.
3. English Medieval Economic and Social History. Prof. Willard.

### CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

Ithaca, N. Y., July 6 to August 16, 1912.

- A. American Social History. The expansion of the United States across the Allegheny Mountains, 1750-1848. Prof. Julian P. Bretz.
- B. American Politics and Government. Prof. Bretz.

C. Growth of the British Empire. Prof. George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan University.

D. The Napoleonic Era. Prof. Dutcher.

### DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

Hanover, N. H., July 1 to August 14, 1912.

- S 9. History of Europe since 1815. Dr. H. B. Lawrence.
- S 7. History of the United States since 1865. Dr. H. B. Lawrence.
- S 4. Economic History of the United States. Dr. T. H. Boggs.
- S 1. Roman Archaeology. Prof. Burton.

### DRAKE UNIVERSITY.

Des Moines, Iowa, June 17, 1912.

9. History of the West. Prof. O. B. Clark.

### HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Cambridge, Mass., July 2 to August 13, 1912.

#### HISTORY.

- S 2. Ancient History for Teachers. Prof. William S. Ferguson.
- S 1. History of England from 1689 to the present time. Prof. Ephraim D. Adams, of Leland Stanford, Jr., University.
- S 5. American History from 1830 to the present time. Prof. Adams.
- S 20i. Research in Greek and Roman History. Prof. William S. Ferguson.
- S 20e. Research in American History. Prof. E. D. Adams.

#### GOVERNMENT.

- S 1. Civil Government; the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, with special reference to current problems. Dr. Arthur N. Holcombe.
- S 2. Municipal Government; the government of American and European cities. Dr. A. N. Holcombe.

### UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

Urbana, Ill., June 17 to August 9, 1912.

#### HISTORY.

- S 1a. Medieval European History to 1300. Prof. Ford.
- S 3b. American History, 1783-1860. Prof. McCormac, of University of California.
- S 13. The Rise of the American Republic; history of the colonies in the 18th century. Prof. McCormac.

#### POLITICAL SCIENCE.

- S 1. American National Government. Prof. Geiser, of Oberlin College.
- S 2. Modern European Governments. Prof. Geiser.

### UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA.

Bloomington, Ind., June 20 to August 30, 1912.

#### FIRST HALF-TERM.

1. Medieval and Modern History, 1517-1789. Mr. McDonald.
- 2a. History of Greece to 421 A.D. Prof. Hershey.
6. History of England to 1215. Mr. McDonald.
10. Modern History: The 19th century from 1814. Prof. Hershey.
5. American Political History, 1781-1850. Prof. Ogg, of Simmons College.
21. American Politics: The American Government. Prof. Ogg.
- 20a. Seminary in American History. Prof. Ogg.
- 20d. Current Politics. Prof. Hershey.
13. Medieval Institutions. Mr. McDonald.

#### SECOND HALF-TERM.

1. Medieval and Modern History, 1789 to 1900. Prof. Ogg.
  21. American Politics: The Party System. Prof. Ogg.
  - 20a. Seminary in American History. Prof. Ogg.
- Courses in the Teaching of History and Geography will be given in the School of Education by Mr. Ramsey.

**JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.**

Baltimore, Md., July 2 to August 13, 1912.

1a. American History to 1865. Prof. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt University.

1b. Methods of Teaching History. Prof. Sioussat.

2. English History, 1485 to 1603. Prof. Sioussat.

**UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.**

Lawrence, Kans., June 6 to August 7, 1912.

1. Medieval History II. From the Crusades to the beginning of the 16th century. Prof. Hardy, of Ottawa University.

2. History of Modern England, 1603-1912. Prof. Crawford.

3. The Foundations of English Institutions. Prof. Crawford.

4. The French Revolution. Prof. Hardy.

5. History of Political Parties in the United States. Prof. Dykstra.

6. American Political Theories. Prof. Dykstra.

7. Europe in the 19th Century. Prof. Hardy.

**LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.**

Baton Rouge, La., June 3 to August 2, 1912.

2. The Middle Ages and Modern Times. Prof. Fleming.

6. History of the United States, 1820-1865. Prof. Fleming.

8. History of the United States since 1865. Prof. Fleming.

**UNIVERSITY OF MAINE.**

Orono, Me., June 26 to August 6, 1912.

Courses given by Prof. Colvin and Miss Cousins:

1a. American History and Government.

1b. English History.

2. United States History, from the Mexican War.

3. Modern European History, 1715-1912.

4. Graduate course.

**UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.**

Ann Arbor, Mich., July 1 to August 23, 1912.

1. History of Greece. Dr. Marsh.

2. History of Rome to the Founding of the Roman Empire. Dr. Marsh.

3. General History of England from Norman Conquest to Accession of Henry VII. Prof. Cross.

4. The French Revolution. Prof. Becker, of University of Kansas.

5. Seminary in Historical Method. Prof. Becker.

6. American History, 1763-1800. Prof. Latané, of Washington and Lee University.

7. History of the United States in the Civil War and Reconstruction. Prof. Latané.

**UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.**

Minneapolis, Minn.

1. Medieval History. Prof. Munro, of University of Wisconsin.

2. Medieval Civilization. Prof. Munro.

3. The Crusades. Prof. Munro.

4. Foundations of England, 449 to 1399. Dr. White.

5. England from 1399 to 1688. Dr. White.

6. The Renaissance and Reformation. Dr. White.

7. American History, 1760 to 1830. Dr. Robinson, of Leland Stanford, Jr., University.

8. The History of the West. Dr. Robinson.

**POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

1. Elements of American Government. Mr. A. J. Lien, of University of Colorado.

2. Municipal Administration. Mr. Lien.

**UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.**

Columbia, Mo., June 14 to August 16, 1912.

1a. Modern History, from fall of Rome to Renaissance. Mr. Perkins.

S 2. English History and Government. Mr. Trenholme.

3a. American History. Mr. Viles.

5b. Ancient History. Mr. Perkins.

S 100. Later Roman Empire and Germanic Nations. Mr. Trenholme.

110. Advanced United States History. Mr. Viles.

S 230. Missouri History. Mr. Viles.

S 240. Recent and Contemporary European History. Mr. Perkins.

S 250. Seminary in Historical Research and Thesis Work.

**EDUCATION.**

137. The Teaching of History. Mr. Trenholme.

**UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.**

Lincoln, Neb., June 14 to August 9, 1912.

**AMERICAN HISTORY.**

2. Revolutionary Period, 1763-1783. Mr. Kendrick.

4. Later Constitutional Period, 1832-1861. Prof. Persinger.

6. Recent American History, 1877-1912. Prof. Persinger.

**EUROPEAN HISTORY.**

1. Teachers' Course in Greek History. Prof. Fling.

2. The French Revolution. Prof. Fling.

**POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

1. American Government. Prof. Aylsworth.

11. English Government and Politics. Prof. Aylsworth.

31. Party Government in the United States. Prof. Aylsworth.

**NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.**

New York City, July 1 to August 9, 1912.

S 1. Political and Constitutional History of the United States. Prof. Brown.

S 2. American Civil Government. Prof. Brown.

S 3. Seminar in American History. Prof. Brown.

S 4. Medieval History. Dr. Jones.

S 5. Roman History. Dr. Jones.

S 6. The Napoleonic Era. Dr. Jones.

**OBERLIN COLLEGE.**

Oberlin, Ohio, June 21 to August 9, 1912.

S 1. Greek History: Athens to the Time of Pericles. Prof. Martin.

S 2. Roman History: The Fall of the Republic. Prof. Cole.

S 3. English History: 1702-1760. Prof. Hall.

S 4. American History: 1885-1907. Prof. Hall.

S 5. European History: Period of Renaissance and Reformation. Prof. Lybyer.

S 6. European History: Europe Since 1648. Prof. Lybyer.

Graduate work in History if desired.

**OHIO UNIVERSITY.**

Athens, Ohio, June 17 to July 26, 1912.

United States History, Review. Prof. Thomas N. Hoover.

Collegiate United States History. Prof. T. N. Hoover.

**OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.**

Columbus, Ohio, June 17 to August 9, 1912.

101. Political History of the United States to 1800. Prof. Clarence E. Carter, Miami University.

107. Constitutional History of the United States to 1800. Prof. C. E. Carter.

116. History of the West since the War of 1812-15. Prof. C. E. Carter.

102. Modern History, 1500 A.D. to the present. Prof. Edgar H. McNeal.

105. History of Greece. Prof. E. H. McNeal.

202. Medieval Civilization. Prof. E. H. McNeal.

**PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE.**

State College, Pa., June 24 to August 2, 1912.

EdI. Methods in Teaching covering History in the Elementary School. Miss Katherine Moran.

A. History of England from 1689 to the Present. Prof. D. C. Knowlton.

C. Civil Government in the United States. Prof. P. O. Ray.

D. History of Pennsylvania. Prof. Ray.

E. Economic History of the United States. Prof. Ray.

F. Teachers' Course. Prof. D. C. Knowlton.

**UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.**

Austin, Tex., June 15 to August 1, 1912.

2f. The Early Middle Ages, 395-814. Dr. Duncalf.

2w. The Feudal Age, 814-1300. Dr. Duncalf.



- 4w. National England, 1297-1688. Prof. Manning.  
 5f. European Expansion in America, 1492-1783. Prof. Manning.  
 5w. National Development and Expansion, 1783-1850. Dr. Ramsdell.  
 5s. Division and Reunion, 1850-1911. Dr. Ramsdell.  
 W. A. The Annexation of Texas. Prof. Barker.  
 Courses in History and Civics are also given at the Summer Normal School, conducted at the University.

## TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA.

New Orleans, La., June 13 to August 14, 1912.

- Outline Course in Ancient History. Miss E. Riggs.  
 Medieval and Modern Europe. Prof. White.  
 American History, including Methods. Miss E. Riggs.  
 The Nineteenth Century. Miss E. Riggs.  
 The American Colonies, 1492-1763. Prof. White.  
 American Government and Politics. Prof. White.  
 ment based (1) upon geographical representation, (2) on universal Proclamation of Neutrality to the building of the Panama Canal

## URSINUS COLLEGE.

Collegeville, Pa., Summer Session, 1912.

- Aa. Ancient History. A study of the Oriental nations, Greece, Rome, and the Romano-Teutonic world to the death of Charles the Great. Mr. S. S. Lanchs, A.M.  
 Ab. History of England. An introductory course in the political and social development of the English people. Mr. Lanchs.  
 Ac. American History. A preliminary course in the essential facts of American History. Mr. Lanchs.

## UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

Burlington, Vt., July 1 to August 9, 1912.

1. An Outline Course in the Development of Modern Europe.  
 2. An Outline Course in the History of the 19th Century, beginning with the French Revolution. President Samuel C. Mitchell, University of South Carolina.

## UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

University, Va., Summer Session, 1912.

1. Ancient History. Prof. Hart.  
 2. Medieval and Modern History. Prof. McConnell.  
 3. English History. Prof. McConnell.  
 4. History of the United States. Prof. Page.  
 5. Civil Government in the United States. Prof. Page.  
 6. Virginia History. Prof. McConnell.  
 7. Review of United States History. Mr. Micou.

## UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON.

Seattle, Wash., June 24 to August 2, 1912.

1. History of the United States, 1850-1875. Prof. Conger.  
 2. Sectionalism in the United States. Prof. Conger.  
 3. Europe since 1648. Professor Morris.  
 4. The Making of the English Constitution. Prof. Morris.

## UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

1. Ancient History. Prof. Scholz, of University of California.  
 2. Medieval History, 1095-1500. Prof. Sellery.  
 3. The United States since 1829. Prof. Hockett, of Ohio State University.  
 104. Ancient Imperialism from Alexander the Great to Constantine. Prof. Scholz.  
 105. The Protestant Revolt. Prof. Sellery.  
 106. The American Colonies, 1600-1763. Prof. Hockett.  
 107. The French Revolution and Napoleon. Prof. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania.  
 108. History of the West, 1763-1837. Prof. Paxson.  
 109. Nineteenth Century Europe. Prof. Lingelbach.  
 110. The Teaching of History. Prof. Chase.  
 211. Seminary in American History. Prof. Paxson.

# History in the Secondary School

## Reviewing for Examinations

BY ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph.D., DEWITT CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY

[The familiar type of review lesson, which is nothing but a review of the same mass of detail in larger blocks, studied more hastily and superficially than at first, is utterly worthless, if not actually harmful. Not only is the method ineffective, but the aim is unworthy. It is not intimate familiarity with detail that we want as a result of history study in the high school; the passing of a few years will leave a small residuum in this respect at the best. The result worth while, so far as mastery of material is concerned, is a clear conception of the course of development in the field studied, an understanding of the relation of events, the play of different influences, perspective. Of course, these results cannot be reached on a basis of slipshod and careless preparation of the daily work, but it should be clearly recognized that the details themselves are valuable only when interpreted with reference to large units, to tendencies and lines of progress.]

It follows, therefore, that the teacher who stops with a drill, however careful, upon the facts as he passes from period to period and topic to topic, has done less than half his work. There should be a distinctly different teaching exercise, both in outside preparation and in class-room procedure, in which this more valuable purpose may be realized. This is the true place and function of the review exercise. And incidentally it may be pointed out that the mastery of detail will be far more thorough and lasting in this way than in the other; just as it is much easier to remember the steps in the demonstration of a theorem in geometry through which the student has reasoned his way, than to recall a chaotic jumble of unrelated details in a specified order.

In the following article Dr. Wolfson has clearly explained the way in which the really valuable review may be conducted. As

he himself points out, the method need not be applied to the particular topics he has suggested. Every teacher will have his own views of the best organization of his field and of the topics for review which will most effectively interpret it; in fact, the same teacher, if he is thoughtful and grows in his work, will make changes each year. The essential matter is to understand the true function of the review, and then conduct it with the best insight and scholarship that one has—or can obtain.—J. M. G.]

## REVIEWING FOR EXAMINATIONS.

## The Purpose of the Examination.

Practically all history teachers are forced to pause, at least once a year, many of them twice a year, while their students submit themselves to the test of an examination. Many teachers decry these examinations as a useless waste of time; personally, I regard them as among the most valuable exercises of the year's work. An examination paper, wisely constructed, gives the student a chance to test himself as no other exercise can. Such a paper should attempt to do two things—first, to test the candidate upon his knowledge of the vital facts of the year's work, and second, to force him to show his power of interpreting these facts and of placing them in their proper relation. The questions should be properly distributed both as to time and as to content—there should be some questions on the geographical background of history, some on the development of political institutions, some on economic and social conditions. On the other hand, the teacher has a right to complain if the paper contains a single question based on trivial incidents, if it asks for judgments or comparisons

too difficult for students of the average age and mentality of his class, or if it allows too little choice as to questions.

With an examination such as this before them the students should work with enthusiasm and with confidence in preparation for the test. The teacher who understands his work can make his classes see that the test approximates the work that every adult scholar has to perform at the end of any investigation. The information has all been gathered—note books are full—now comes the task of arrangement and selection preliminary to composition.

#### The Review Method.

As to the method of conducting this work of preparation, long experience has proved that the way in which the average teacher does the work is comparatively ineffective. Throughout the term he has been assigning lessons which require the student to read five or ten pages of the text-book. Now he reviews by assigning forty or fifty pages. The ordinary review is nothing more than an attempt to teach the subject anew in fifteen or twenty lessons. The student is bewildered by the wealth of detail; his mind is soon overcrowded; he is allowed to exercise no discretion as to the facts that he will emphasize, and he ends by doing one of two things: either he gives up the task entirely, or he purchases a cram manual and attempts to memorize its entire contents. Who of us has not seen students with a text-book or a cram manual open in the examination room up to the last moment, feverishly turning the leaves in the hope of adding one more fact to the jumble which already exists in their minds. In consequence, most intelligent teachers are eager to abandon this method for one more effective. May I offer this as an alternative: *review exercises to be valuable should be topical and not chronological.*

#### The Topical Method.

In the history of every nation certain influences, racial and geographical, are constantly at work; certain tendencies, political, social and economic, are easily discernable. These tendencies have a beginning somewhere, grow stronger and stronger, reach a climax and finally disappear or leave an indelible impression on the life of the nation. It is the function of the teacher to note these influences and tendencies, to keep them in mind so that he may emphasize them properly when the review period arrives.

In his first survey of the field the student will be ignorant of these tendencies. He will gather his facts unconscious of their final significance and without the review he may never come to see them in their proper relation. If, however, he is allowed to review the subject he, too, ought to become fully conscious of them, ought to hunt them out for himself and trace them from their origin to their final manifestation. Thus, in the review the teacher will have created a new motive, a new center of interest, the facts will be studied a second time, and the preparation for the examination will be accomplished.

#### The Cumulative Method.

May I allow myself one more dictum before I proceed to concrete illustration. The teacher who waits till the end of the term before beginning his review has adopted a faulty method. Reviews to be effective should be constant throughout the term—not formal, indiscriminate, chronological reviews—but cumulative reviews which occur every time a racial or geographic influence, a political, social or economic tendency leads the nation further along in its destiny. If this policy is adopted, the teacher need not worry if every fact in each day's assignment is not fully mastered. He may rest content in the consciousness that those facts will be reviewed and their hold on the students' minds strengthened later when the subject comes up again for consideration.

#### Geographic influences in English History.

With these generalizations before us, let us apply the method to at least two fields of history.

In the history of Great Britain, the great basic geographical influences are (1) that the British Isles are far enough removed from the continent to be free from constant continental influences, but near enough to be in touch with great continental movements; (2) that certain parts of the islands are adapted to agriculture and other parts to manufacturing only; (3) that the islands are comparatively small and the coasts favorable to sea-faring, that consequently when the means of ocean navigation have been perfected the people of the islands will be led into the race for colonization and foreign trade. To make these generalizations at the begin-

ning of the term is worse than useless, though many of our text-books do it. Such generalizations are the result of the teacher's complete knowledge, not of the apperceptive mass of the child. On the other hand, they serve wonderfully well both during the term and especially at the end of the term as the basis for review of much of the economic history of England.

#### Racial Elements.

The mixture of races in the people of Great Britain is too well known to need analysis here, yet how many teachers ever use this fact to explain and unify the history of the nation? Is not the one fact that England is peopled largely by a mixed Germanic race, that Wales, Scotland, and Ireland are peopled largely by Celts, sufficient to serve as a basis for the explanation in review of nearly all the antagonism which has always existed between these various parts of the kingdom? Is not the fact that England is the conquering, trading nation sufficient to illuminate the whole complicated story of her relations with Ireland?

Socially, Great Britain has passed through four epochs. (1) Its history begins with a tribal period which includes all her history down to later Anglo-Saxon times. (The Roman occupation, though it lasted three centuries, is really only an episode in English history.) (2) The Feudal age followed and came to an end with the War of the Roses. (3) From the end of the fifteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, British social life was dominated by the landed aristocracy. (4) In the latter part of the eighteenth century, and especially in the nineteenth century, the middle class manufacturer and merchant finally came into his own; and, (5) finally, we are now on the verge of an age when the proletariat will probably dominate British society. The roots of each of these periods can be traced backward, the remains of many of them persist to this day—what an excellent chance for a wide-awake teacher to use them as a basis for the final survey of the whole period of English history!

#### Other Topics in English History.

In the same way we can use present-day problems in British politics—(1) church disestablishment, (2) colonial federation, (3) woman's suffrage, (4) the recent limitation of the power of the House of Lords, (5) Irish Home Rule, etc., as a basis for reviews and lo! the necessity for a special review for examination disappears almost entirely.

#### Geographic influences in American History.

The scheme outlined above for English history will work equally well in American history. Personally, I have always begun my review by a study of geographic influences. (1) The American continent lies between Europe and Asia. It turns its face to the one and its back on the other. These two facts help us to understand the history of discovery, of exploration, and of colonization. (2) The mountain chains and the river systems explain much of the history of economic development; they give us the key to the Indian trails, the wagon roads, the canals, and the railroads of the continent. (3) The climatic conditions, north and south, and the mineral resources furnish the other factor in the equation of economic development. With these three things in mind, the teacher can review the whole history of Spanish, French, Dutch, and English exploration and settlement. He can follow the struggle between these four nations for supremacy on the continent. He can trace the development of the territory west of the Alleghenies; he can review the story of the slavery controversy; he can discuss modern American economic development.

#### Racial Elements.

The basic racial element in the United States is Anglo-Saxon, but an Anglo-Saxon race considerably modified (1) by geographic separation from the parent stock and (2) by large admixtures from many other races. These propositions will serve as topics under which one can resurvey the history of the American Revolution, the development of new social ideals in the United States and the story of the growth in numbers of the American nation.

#### Present Political and Economic Conditions.

Politically, the United States is a union of States, with a government based (1) upon geographical representation, (2) on universal manhood suffrage, and (3) on an absence of all religious restraints upon the individual. In this statement we have a generalization which will lead us back to a study of colonial governments, of the

(Continued on page 115.)



# Metternich and the Revolutions of 1820 and 1830

BY DANIEL C. KNOWLTON Ph. D., CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, NEWARK, N. J.

## Preliminary Considerations.

As a rule textbook writers and teachers consider the revolutions of 1820 and 1830 in connection with such topics as the attainment of German unity or the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, instead of presenting them as European movements. It must be admitted that the period which opens with 1815 is much more complicated than that which precedes this date and that it is a much more difficult problem to preserve anything like unity and continuity amid the hopelessly involved events which mark the history of Europe from this time forward. Some semblance of order, however, may be realized from the seeming chaos without entailing as much sacrifice as too often accompanies the presentation of this portion of European history. While applying rigidly the principle of a careful selection of material, more time and attention should be given to the epoch between 1815 and the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848 if the instructor would present a well-rounded picture of European progress. Although the movements of 1820 and 1830 may serve as an introduction to the various efforts to unite Germany under the Hohenzollern or to consolidate Italy under the House of Savoy or to dislodge the Turk from Europe, they possess a wider significance as stages in the development of Europe as a whole, which are worthy of emphasis even in our secondary teaching. It must be admitted at the outset that it is easier to ignore these revolutions and the circumstances which gave them birth than to treat them in these broader aspects. The great danger in presenting phases of development which are so closely connected with contemporary politics is that Europe shall no longer be visualized as one great unit with clearly marked characteristics, but that it shall call up a loose aggregation of States with sharply-defined lines of cleavage and with few common bonds of union; in short that European history shall resolve itself into so much German, French, or Italian history. It must be conceded that the development of many of the states of Europe becomes more individualistic or nationalistic in character with the lapse of time, but this is not so true of the interval before 1848 as has been the case since. In fact, many writers recognize in the seven years that followed the Congress of Vienna a period marked by a unity which was characteristic of few epochs in the history of modern Europe. "For once," says Phillips, "it is actually possible to treat the history of Europe as a single unit." These years marked a persistent effort to complete the work begun at Vienna, building up as Gentz expressed it "a better social structure."

## Arrangement of Material.

The material for the entire period should be arranged with some such thought in view, following, perhaps, the plan of treatment in Mueller, "Political History of Recent Times," or in Seignobos, "Europe Since 1815" (Chapter XXV). In this way the student will secure a much better idea of European tendencies than would be the case if his attention were focused immediately on one of the three topics with which it has long been the custom to close our chapters of European history; namely, the unification of Italy and Germany and the Eastern Question. Mueller recognizes the epoch which opens with 1815 and closes with 1830 as a struggle for constitutional government on the lines laid down by the French Revolution with the French constitution of 1791 as the shibboleth before the eyes of all Liberals, interrupted by a more or less persistent series of efforts to check these movements by a combination of the Great Powers of Europe who meet from time to time for this purpose, restoring such arrangements as had been overthrown, or bolstering up thrones and traditions which were tottering to their fall. To this might be added the thought which underlies Phillips's presentation of European history from 1815 to 1822; namely, the attempt to realize the ideal which Napoleon in the closing years of his life at St. Helena affirmed had been constantly before his eyes; namely, that of a great European Confederation on the order of the Amphictyonic Council. The second epoch opens with the July Revolution in France which gave rise to similar movements in Belgium, Poland, Germany, and Italy, even making itself felt in liberal England. The closing scenes of this movement were but the prelude to the great upheaval of 1848 which shook all central and Southern Europe to their foundations and paved the way for the

mighty changes of the latter half of the nineteenth century. These movements of 1820 and 1830 center about a personality, or to speak more properly, about two personalities, Prince Metternich and the Tsar Alexander I. The former, however, becomes the dominating factor in European politics by bringing his influence more and more to bear upon the susceptible Tsar.

## Plan of Presentation in Classroom.

The following plan is suggested for classroom presentation. The instructor naturally begins by pointing out on the map the essential changes effected by the Congress of Vienna, noting their significance and insisting that these shall be visualized even to the point of the student's reproducing them upon an outline map if required. This suggests the question as to whether the period from 1815 to 1848 was in its essence one of territorial changes, that is of wars and epoch-making boundary treaties. The answers to this will serve to impress the fact that we are on the threshold of a long period of "external peace," marred, however, by internal revolutions. For the next forty years, even down to 1854, there was to be no change in the Europe of 1815, "but the creation of the two little kingdoms of Greece and Belgium and the destruction of the republic of Cracow." (Seignobos, p. 787.)

Three words can then be drawn from the class as expressive of the character of the period, the three R's—Reaction, Repression, and Revolution. The two first mentioned may be illustrated at this point by citing specific instances of the attitude of the rulers of some of the Italian or German States to the work of the French Revolution and Napoleon. The transition is natural to the paramount influence of the so-called great powers of Europe and the redominance among these of the Austrian statesman Prince Metternich. It may require rather careful questioning to make clear the nature of the Holy Alliance and the tremendous influence of a man of such limited attainments over such powerful states as Russia, Prussia, France, and England. This may be done by laying stress upon the universal desire for peace and the seizure by Metternich of every opportunity afforded by circumstances to convince the Prussian King and the Russian Tsar of their identity of interests with those of the Austrian Emperor Francis II.

The first series of uprisings and demonstrations resulting from the smoldering embers left by the French Revolution and the discontent with the work performed at Vienna may be made the occasion for a consideration of the doctrine of intervention, its application in specific cases, and its final defeat at the hands of England acting with the United States in the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine (see Phillips's "Modern Europe," p. 15 for England's part). The names, the dates, and the circumstances which occasioned these congresses and the work which was performed at each should be duly emphasized. The doctrine of intervention may perhaps be made clearer by illustrations drawn from contemporary history in connection with developments in Mexico at the time of the overthrow of Diaz or by our policy in Cuba just before and after the Spanish-American War. The struggle for Greek independence may be considered as a corollary to the ultimate failure of Metternich to carry out his ideas in his inability to extend the provisions of the treaties made at Vienna into the domain of the Turk, or even to secure harmonious action from the quondam allies of the days of the Wars of Liberation. This struggle may be deferred for consideration later in connection with the Eastern Questions.

After pointing out the conditions which gave rise to the July Revolution in France, the significance of the entire period which it inaugurated and its bearing upon the future may be emphasized by pointing out the various evidences of that dawning feeling of nationality with which the diplomatists of Europe were so soon to reckon. Europe exhibited many hopeful signs of a spirit of hostility during these reactionary years when such consistent and persistent efforts were put forth to "turn back the hands of time to the historic hour at which they stood when the Bastille fell."

This portion of the history from 1815 to 1830 may be reviewed and summarized and made more definite by placing before the class

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**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—No excuse is needed for printing in this issue the five valuable papers recently presented before the New England History Teachers' Association. It must be stated, however, that the printing of these papers has made it impossible to give the usual amount of space to several of the regular departments. The regular topics not treated this month will receive additional space in the June issue.

Mr. Howard C. Hill, formerly of Oak Park High School, is now instructor in the State Normal School, Milwaukee, Wis.

The new and enlarged catalog of Historical Material of the N. E. Association will be published for the association by the Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, to whom orders should be addressed. The price will be fifty cents, except to those whose orders have already been entered at twenty-five cents.

## Reports from Historical Field

**W. H. CUSHING, Editor.**

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

The annual meeting of the History Teachers' Association of Maryland will be held at Goucher College, Baltimore, on Saturday, May 4, 1912, at 11 a.m. The program includes papers on the character and amount of work in history to be expected from students in the elementary school and in the secondary school.

As we go to press there comes to hand the announcement of the fifth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which will be held at Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., on May 23, 24, 25, 1912. The Teachers' Section of this Association will hold a joint session with the History Section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association. The program for the three-day session is an unusually interesting one, touching many phases of western and national history, as well as problems of history pedagogy.

### NOTES.

Miss Blanche E. Hazard, of the High School of Practical Arts, Boston, has returned from a visit to schools in Philadelphia and New York.

Mr. A. R. Wheeler, of St. George's School, Newport, R. I., will spend next year abroad.

Dr. M. L. Bonham, Jr., of Simmons College, will teach in the summer school of Louisiana State University.

The next meeting of the Indiana Association will be held in Bloomington, May 23-25.

Lantern slides on Greek and Roman art are being loaned free of charge to high schools by the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University.

Prof. E. D. Adams, of Stanford University, will teach at Harvard this summer.

Dr. David S. Muzzey has been promoted to the grade of associate professor at Columbia.

The "Vassar Miscellany" for April, 1912, contains a report of the sixteenth annual meeting of the Vassar Alumnae Association. An interesting summary of Dr. Textor's lecture on "Russian Estates" is included.

The fifth annual report of the Council of English Historical Association, coming the year 1910-1911 was presented at the annual meeting January 11, 1912, and has been published for the Association by Alexander and Shephard, Fetter Lane.

### COLORADO TEACHERS

The annual meeting of the High School and College Conference was held at the University of Colorado on Saturday, March 30, 1912. This Conference is made up of the high school men and university professors.

The Committee on History, Civics and Economics, of which Professor J. F. Willard is chairman, brought in the following resolutions, which were passed:

"I. That American history and civics be made a prerequisite for graduation from the high schools of Colorado.

"II. That four years of history be offered in the Colorado high schools and that the course of study be so arranged that it may be possible for the students to take the full four years if they so elect.

"III. That none but trained history teachers be employed to teach history in the Colorado high schools, and that such requirement be taken into account in the accrediting of schools. ('Trained teacher' was interpreted by the Conference to mean one who had taken at least fifteen hours' work in history in a college or university.)

"IV. That the equipment of the department of history be placed upon a parity with that of other departments."

Professor Willard's committee worked hard to get these resolutions through, and have now made a start toward improving conditions. Therefore, they are trying to force a professional and fraternal feeling among the history teachers of Colorado. To this end a campaign of publicity has been inaugurated, and by frequent publications the committee hopes to bring about a great improvement in the history department of the Colorado high schools.



## NOTES.

The ninth annual report of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland has been published. It contains an account of the proceedings in connection with the ninth annual convention of the Association held in Washington, D. C., March 10 and 11, 1911. Among the papers are the following: "Social History and the Industrial Revolution," by Professor James T. Shotwell, Columbia University; "The Present Status of the Teaching of Economics in High Schools," by Professor E. S. Meade, of the University of Pennsylvania; "The Practical Management of a High School Course in Economics," by Professor John Tildsley, De Witt Clinton High School, New York City, and "Historical Washington," by Ellen Spencer Mussey, of Washington, D. C. The membership list shows a total of two hundred and twenty members of the organization.

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growth of the union, of the struggle between the defenders of the two theories as to the nature of the constitution, of the history of religious toleration, of the development of modern American democracy, of the history of political parties in the United States down to the present generation.

Economically, the United States is part agricultural, part industrial and commercial. Upon this fact of present-day life the student can reconstruct the history of the development of the west, the growth of trade and industry (inventions, business organization and labor conditions), financial history and the history of the tariff.

## American Foreign Relations.

Finally, in her relations with other nations, (1) the United States early adopted a consistent policy of isolation, (2) insisted on freedom of international trade, and (3) declared that the American continents were closed to European colonization and to European political influences. (4) Since 1898, the United States has abandoned its policy of isolation. Again we are ready for a series of lessons in review which will include everything from Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality to the building of the Panaman Canal and the American interferences in China.

In conclusion, let me say that I do not mean to imply that the topics here given are the only ones which might be adopted. Indeed, I find in practice that I vary them from term to term. I am pleading for a method, not for its application to any particular set of topics.

(Continued from page 113.)

such statements as the following, drawn, possibly, as in this case, from the textbook:

"The Congress of Vienna was a victory for reaction and despotism over liberal thought and free government."

The two positive forces in politics, Democracy and Nationality were "ignored by the Congress of Vienna and warred upon by Metternich" (West, "Modern History," p. 391), and making these the basis for such questions as:

"Illustrate the truth of these statements by reference to one or more of the countries which figured prominently in the period, as for example, Germany, Spain, Italy, Greece, France, and Spanish America."

A ten-minute test may be set covering simply developments in one of these countries, or a more comprehensive survey may be required by calling for several illustrations. From time to time, such questions as the following may be used for short written summaries or tests:

"Define the doctrine of intervention and describe some of the efforts to enforce it."

"The Holy Alliance: Its Aims, and Its Accomplishments."

In addition to the books mentioned, Seignobos's "Contemporary Civilization" will be found to contain a very suggestive chapter on the struggle for constitutional government which marked the entire period (Chapter X). The new work by Hazen, on Europe since 1815, in the American Historical Series, is especially valuable for the secondary teacher. The narrative is clear, the material well arranged, and the maps excellent. This period is covered in Chapters I-VII.

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